

THE
CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN.

No. VI.—JUNE, 1879.

PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY—BUTLER OR
MACAULAY?

BISHOP BUTLER, in his great work, writes as follows:—"As it is owned the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood before the restitution of all things, and without miraculous interpositions, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at. . . . Nor is it at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered. For all the same phenomena and the same faculties of investigation from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before." The field of Scripture is here likened to the field of nature, and it is suggested that discoveries remain to be made in the former, similar in importance to those which are being made in the latter. In the context of the passage quoted, Butler distinguishes between "practical Christianity, or that faith and behaviour which renders a man a Christian," and "the study of those things which the apostle calls 'going on unto perfection,' and of the prophetic parts of Scripture;" and he wishes us to understand that it is upon the province more remotely connected with faith and practice that the knowledge which we may expect thus to increase will shed its light. This great and sagacious thinker is careful not to assert that the truths which he supposes may still lie concealed in Scripture, will, in the present state, be certainly brought to light; for he expressly says, "if the whole scheme of Scripture ever comes to be understood before the restitution of all things." Still, the words of Butler might well be cited in favour of the view that important discoveries in theology yet remain to be made—discoveries such as may prove of essential value in removing objections to the scheme of revelation. Theology, according to this

great authority, may be progressive in the same sense as the natural sciences are progressive.

Quite different is the opinion of Macaulay. Having stated that natural theology is not progressive, he thus proceeds: "But neither is revealed religion of the nature of a progressive science. All Divine truth is, according to the doctrine of the Protestant Churches, recorded in certain books. It is equally open to all who in any age can read those books; nor can all the discoveries of all the philosophers in the world add a single verse to any of those books. It is plain, therefore, that in divinity there cannot be a progress analogous to that which is constantly taking place in pharmacy, geology, and navigation. A Christian of the fifth century with a Bible is on a par with a Christian of the nineteenth century with a Bible; candour and natural acuteness being, of course, supposed equal. It matters not at all that the compass, printing, gunpowder, steam, gas, vaccination, and a thousand other discoveries and inventions which were unknown in the fifth century are familiar to the nineteenth. None of these discoveries and inventions have the smallest bearing on the question whether man is justified by faith alone, or whether the invocation of saints is an orthodox practice."

This eminent writer regards progress in theology, analogous to that which we witness in the demonstrative and inductive sciences, as impossible. He, indeed, is speaking of theological progress in its bearing upon the reconciliation of Romanists and Protestants, whilst Butler refers to its bearing upon apologetics; but still their opinions cannot be harmonised; for a progress such as the bishop has in view must be made upon principles which would allow important advances in dogmatics. Which, then, is right—Butler or Macaulay? Or can we accept the view of either without modification? The issue involved is certainly important, not only to the professional theologian, but to all who receive the Scriptures as the Word of God.

There is a class of writers who speak much of the Church and the theology of the future, leaving the impression that these will differ widely from the Church and the theology of the present; but they say nothing definite regarding the extent to which the difference may reach. We are assured, however, that theology, if it would remain in credit—or, rather, recover its credit—must avail itself of the vast progress made in science, philosophy, and biblical scholarship since the creeds were constructed; must bring itself into harmony with the spirit of the age, and must cordially accept those principles of progress which apply to every department of human thought and inquiry. But we have writers of the same spirit, who, not content with asserting the necessity of progress, shrink not from trying their hand at the reconstruction of Christian dogma, and from proposing changes which are radical enough. A specimen of this will be found in the revision of the doctrines of the Trinity, original sin, and the atonement, essayed by the Rev. H. R. Haweis. We do not stay to inquire whether emendations of doctrine

such as those now referred to are anything more than attempts to rehabilitate errors long ago exposed and rejected ; our object is, without any appeals *ad invidiam*, to look calmly at the general ground on which theological progress is affirmed.

It will be clearly understood that we are not here concerned with the professed opponents of Christianity, who say that its dogmas must eventually disappear before the advancing enlightenment of mankind. On both sides of the question before us we find professed friends of the Gospel ; and the matter in contention is, whether our knowledge of the Christian doctrines is subject to the same law of progress which all recognise in the experimental sciences.

Let it further be kept in view that the question has not respect to progress in the communication of Divine truth in the Word of God. It is allowed, on all hands, that there has been progress here. The later parts of the Old Testament disclose many things which are not contained, or which are but dimly hinted at, in the earlier. The New Testament is a much fuller and clearer revelation of doctrine than the Old. Though the teachings of our Lord, as recorded in the gospels, may contain the germs of all the doctrines of His kingdom, there were many things which the disciples could not "bear" in the days of His ministry, and which it was reserved for apostolical teaching, after Pentecost, to deliver. We do no honour to Christ in putting the words which He spoke above those which He gave to His apostles, and in refusing to admit the more complete development of doctrine in the epistles.

But the canon of Scripture is now closed, and the gift of inspiration withdrawn. The doctrines of the Christian faith have been delivered, and till the Lord shall come we may not expect other and higher revelations. Our appeal must lie to the Scriptures as we have had them for eighteen centuries, and no doctrine which cannot be proven from these has any right to claim acceptance as part of our theology. It would seem, therefore, as if progress in doctrines—in theology—such as marks the history of the Church from the beginning of revelation to the close of the canon, were not afterwards to be expected. If, however, the position of Butler be the right one, this need not be so ; doctrinal progress may characterise the history of the Church after revelation ceases, not less, perhaps, than before. Inexhaustible material for the construction of doctrine lies before us in the Bible ; and in the improvement of the human mind as an instrument of discovery, the increase of knowledge which may subserve theological investigation, and the fresh light continually shed on Scripture by the unfoldings of Providence, we may have the assurance—certainly the possibility—of a continual progress in theological knowledge. This progress need not be arrested by the completion of the canon any more than progress in natural science by the completion of creation. A long time will elapse before earth and air and sea shall have been perfectly scrutinised, and the laws which govern the entire cosmos ascertained ; till that time comes

natural science must continue to advance ; and shall we venture to imagine that the Word of God is less inexhaustible than His works, or that the process of investigation and discovery in the more glorious realm will sooner come to an end ?

Let us say at once that we are not to take the ground that Macaulay is entirely right, and Butler entirely wrong. We believe in theological progress within certain limits. It is matter of history that such progress has been made ; but history, we think, concurs with certain general considerations, now to be advanced, in disallowing the analogy suggested by Butler, or, at least, in greatly limiting its scope. The considerations are the following :—

1. *The clearness with which Scripture, in accordance with its purpose, exhibits its great doctrines, marks an important difference between nature and revelation, as provinces of investigation.* We must not assume that we fully understand the counsels of God in any of His doings ; and in a matter affecting, probably, so many interests and serving so many purposes as do the communications of Scripture, modesty of speech is certainly to be enjoined. But, surely, we do not err in saying that, so far as *we* are concerned, the great design with which Scripture was given, is to teach us the way of salvation. It was meant to convey to us that knowledge of the Father and of the Son which is eternal life. “The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man,” in order to our “glorifying God and enjoying Him for ever.” In accordance with this its purpose, we might expect, therefore, that the general tenor and scope of Scripture would be plain. If difficult and protracted investigation must be held, before the import of its gracious message can be determined, the value of that message will, practically, be greatly impaired. But if the parallel shall strictly hold between nature and the Bible, then laborious and lengthened scrutiny, and many futile attempts to apprehend its scope and principles will precede any just conceptions of them. For nature has not revealed her secrets at once. It has been necessary to put her to the torture. The sciences have been built up by years and centuries of patient toil ; and, in many cases, the foundations of them have required, repeatedly, to be laid anew.

Now, in looking to Scripture we soon discover that, in the delivery of its great truths, it actually possesses the attribute of clearness and explicitness which we would have expected to distinguish it. The way of life and the way of death are plainly set before us ; and no person with a sincere intention can misapprehend the directions of this divinely-appointed guide. And, if reference be made to the several truths connected with the momentous central theme, we shall find that Scripture is unmistakable in its teaching regarding them all. Is it necessary to know that man has fallen into an estate of sin and misery from which he cannot deliver himself ; that God, infinitely just and holy, cannot pass by sin, but must inflict condign punishment ; that, rich in mercy,

though inflexible in justice, He has found a way, even through blood, in which expiation may be made, and the guiltiest who will accept His grace be forgiven and admitted to favour; that He cleanses from sin and prepares for His holy presence all those whom He pardons; that He claims from us supreme affection and faithful service all the days of our lives? The Word of God (read in connection with the ordinances of God) has spoken not doubtfully upon these things since its first instalments were given; every subsequent portion, as added to the Canon, shed fresh light upon the gracious will of God; and, since the New Testament has been written, these high matters stand revealed in the perfect day.

Now this clearness of Scripture must, partly at least, account for the fact that in the history of Bible-interpretation there is no counterpart to what has occurred in the sciences, when the very principles on which it was attempted to construct them were discovered to be errors. For science has often required to demolish its own work, and begin, as it were, anew. When the ancient astronomy regarded the earth as the centre of the universe the mistake was sufficient to prevent any true science of astronomy. The heavens might be "scribbled o'er, cycle on epicycle, orb on orb," but there was no release from the perplexity of the original blunder. In the early speculations in chemistry the like mistakes were made, and ever since chemistry might properly be called a science, it has allowed erroneous assumptions which arrested progress, and rendered necessary a large measure of reconstruction. The whole world knows that in the history of geology, or geogony, the same thing has been illustrated. Now it cannot fairly be said that the history of theology exhibits any parallel to this. The fundamental theological ideas have never been misconceived by the true Church of God. No mistake has been committed like that which makes the sun and the stars revolve around the earth; which regards fire, air, earth, and water as the elements of all things; or which explains stratification as the effect of the flood. Much has been added to the early theology; for no one will contend that the theology of Adam or of Abraham embraced all that is contained in the theology of Paul; but it cannot be shown that any incongruity existed between the earlier and more limited faith, and the enlarged doctrine of the apostle. And if there was unity in the faith of the Church during the long preparatory dispensation, an equal unity (to say no more) will certainly be found since the completion of the sacred volume. Errorists, it is true, have existed in every age; but the perversities and eccentricities of errorists must not be alleged in opposition to the view now stated. It is the doctrine held by the Church of God which is here in account: it is the history of this doctrine which must come into comparison with the history of the science of nature.

There are many passages in Scripture the interpretation of which is undeniably difficult. The most learned and able men, though free from bias, have not been able to agree about them. But the existence of such passages does not render doubtful the teachings of the Bible, or affect its

general character of clearness in statement. All the great doctrines of the Bible are so well established by texts, the meaning of which is not open to dispute, that we cannot reasonably be asked to suspend our judgment regarding these doctrines till the obscure texts shall have been elucidated. Whatever these passages mean, they contain nothing to shake our confidence in doctrines supported by a large induction of clear and harmonious proof. "All things are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."

But, it may be asked, are we not confounding practical knowledge with scientific? It is a practical acquaintance with Scripture, we shall be told, which is necessary to salvation and to holy living; and this practical acquaintance may be easily gained. But a practical acquaintance with the objects and facts of the world around us is also easy of attainment—*i.e.*, such a knowledge of them as shall enable us to subsist, and even secure a fair degree of comfort. Without any skill in botany or agricultural chemistry one may know to use the natural fruits which are wholesome—nay, to prosecute husbandry with good success. A man who knows nothing of zoology may be rich in flocks and herds. Both in Scripture and in nature, the knowledge necessary to immediate practical ends is easily attained, yet in both, true science may be difficult; in order even to its beginning, long and laborious study may be requisite; whilst it may be capable of advancement beyond any assignable limits. Has not the preceding argument, therefore, neglected this very important distinction?

We reply, that theology does not differ from a practical knowledge of religious truth, in the same manner as the scientific knowledge of nature differs from the practical knowledge of its objects and laws to which reference has been made. In some respects, and within certain limits, the scientific knowledge and the practical are identical in religion. The cognition of religious truth involved in a vital and salutary appreciation of it is not different, so far as it goes, from the cognition of the theologian. The same things are known in both cases: so far as the intellect is concerned, its operation in both cases is virtually the same. What higher conception of the great principles of our faith—what more recondite knowledge of them—can the theologian reach, than the ordinary Christian of fair intelligence, who devoutly studies his Bible and hears the Sabbath instructions of a faithful minister? In regard to the logical relations of these principles, the theologian will have the advantage: he can better conceive them, perhaps, as a scheme or system; and thus far he is more scientific than the ordinary Christian. He has possession of the *two* factors of scientific theology—knowledge of the facts, and knowledge of the logical connections; but, as regards the

former of these, the ordinary Bible student, bating his ignorance of scientific terminology, may be almost, if not quite, on a level with him. He does not stand to the theologian, as the indolent savage, eating the fruit which falls from his banana tree, or the ignorant rustic practising a rude husbandry, stands to the scientific agriculturist and the botanist. The scientific knowledge of nature leads, of course, to inventions and improvements of great practical utility ; but though science should have made no progress we can use the things which we find around us, and thus sustain life with some measure of physical enjoyment : whereas a like ignorance of the principles of the Bible would leave us without its blessings—leave us unsaved.

Those who are wont so sharply to distinguish between theology and a practical knowledge of religion, very generally, we fear, commit the fatal error of confounding religion with duty, especially social duty, or with mere sentiment. But if the knowledge which saves is the knowledge of the Father and of the Son, a most intimate connection clearly exists between practical religion and theology.

2. *Again, the imperfection of the suggested analogy may be argued from the promise of the Holy Spirit, to be ever with the Church as its Teacher.* This promise is found in passages such as the following :—“ But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and shall bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have told you ;” “ When the Comforter is come, He shall testify of Me ;” “ He shall receive of Mine and shall shew it unto you.” Accordingly it is said, “ Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things ;” “ The anointing which ye have received of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you ; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in Him” (John xiv. 26 ; xv. 26 ; xvi. 14 ; 1 John ii. 20, 27). This last passage shows that the Spirit, as Teacher, was not promised to the twelve only, though they in a special sense became partakers of His influences. The Spirit is to dwell in the Church, and in all true believers, and to dwell there for ever. Thus is fulfilled what Jeremiah said concerning the new dispensation—“ I will put My law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts . . . and they shall teach no more, every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know ye the Lord ; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord.” It is thus ensured that all believers shall correctly apprehend (so far, at least, as may be necessary to salvation and to the integrity of the Christian life) the great facts and principles of the Christian faith. Such knowledge is imparted to them that no man can lead them fatally astray ; they can distinguish between the “ lie” and the “ truth,” and when Antichrist comes, he cannot persuade them to embrace his error. We do not understand that the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in all believers from the beginning is at variance with the

supposition that Christian truth, even under His teaching, as by means of the progress of events, may have additional light thrown upon it, so that the knowledge of the Church shall grow and increase, the depth and fulness of meaning which is in Scripture be more perfectly apprehended, and views and applications of truth at present unattained, become the possession of a Church ever approaching maturity in knowledge, as in holiness, and preparing for the coming of her Lord. Such progress of the Church seems no more excluded by the promise of the Spirit than the growth of the individual in knowledge under the teaching of the same Spirit is excluded. Not reluctantly, but with deep and grateful joy, would we recognise the possibility—the certainty—of this advancement in knowledge. No new revelation will be vouchsafed, but the spirit, communicated with increasing fulness, will enable the Church more perfectly to understand the Revelation which we have; and her knowledge—her theology—will become increasingly profound, comprehensive, and harmonious. Truths which, at present, many of us do little more than tolerate (since we cannot silence the testimony of Scripture to them), will be seen in relation to other truths so glorious, that all hesitation in receiving them will be past. Those whom diversities of view and of interpretations, strongly emphasised, have too much kept apart, will come more closely together in the oneness of the faith. Nor is it incredible that the clearer light shed upon the whole contents of Scripture will lead to valuable apologetical results, and the truth, received in greater completeness, will more and more show itself a fortress impregnable all around.

But we must correctly conceive the *kind* of progress in Divine knowledge which we are permitted to anticipate, and the *way* in which it will be made. Any movement forward will be in the same line, so to speak, in which the Church has achieved the progress which marks the past. There will be no forsaking of this line for another. The Church will not inaugurate a new progressive era by altering her course, by going back from her attainments, by casting aside her theology received from the beginning. She will not lay the foundations of a new edifice, nor tear down the courses which have been securely built; but whatever additional stones she may find worthy of a place in the structure, will be laid on and incorporated in harmony with the design. Imperfections will be removed, additional buttresses supplied, a more perfect beauty added; but the noise of demolition—of those who “break down the carved work with axes and hammers”—will not be heard. And many, it may be feared, who are most earnest in asserting the law of progress in theological science, do really, under the name of progress, contemplate a process which must at least begin with demolition. Theology, they tell us, is not in harmony with the spirit of the age, and with our attainments in other branches of knowledge and inquiry; it has, in fact, become totally indefensible in presence of the scientific and historical criticism by which it must now be tested. And this means not simply

that the logical relations of doctrines to one another have been imperfectly understood, or that the doctrines have not been completely developed and followed out to their consequences, but that many of these doctrines—even such as have been deemed most essential—have been wrongly conceived. The Church, we are told, is fundamentally in error as to her conceptions of justice in God ; of our relations to Adam as the source of condemnation and depravity ; of the substitution of Christ ; of the atonement, as an expiating sacrifice ; of regeneration, as the supernatural implanting of a new life, in distinction from anything achieved by moral culture ; of inspiration ; whilst almost her entire eschatology is worthy of rejection. Now, clearly, if this is so, we must begin *de novo*. We must lay the foundations anew, for theology has hardly any conceptions more primary than those enumerated. If the views which will be offered in place of those now held, and which in substance have been held since theology first claimed to be a science—nay, since definitions of the faith, in single articles, were framed—are correct views, the new theology cannot vindicate its entrance by any doctrine of progress. For it turns out that almost everything is wrong. The first thing is to clear the ground—to remove the antiquated and unsightly structure which stands in the way, that a beautiful modern house may be built ; with the prospect, we fear, that those who come after shall deal with our edifice as we judged it necessary to deal with that which we found in possession.

It is sufficiently obvious that, in this way, no progress can be assured ; but the thought we wish here to bring forward is, that the Spirit's presence in the Church as its Teacher, gives us the strongest reason for believing that on such important topics as those referred to, our theology cannot be far from the truth. There are, doubtless, many subordinate theological topics as to which we cannot thus find guarantee in the Spirit's teaching—topics remote from the central vital truths ; these must seek their support (if their place in theology shall be made good) in a fair interpretation of Scripture texts, or on grounds of necessary logical connection. We will not press unduly even so great a doctrine as that of the Spirit's teaching ; but we may rejoice in the assurance which it gives that our theology has not misapprehended the leading features of that Word which the Spirit indited.

3. *The character of inscrutable mystery attaching to several of the great doctrines of the Bible suggests a limitation of theological inquiry which impairs the analogy between nature and revelation as fields of progressive discovery.* No ground will here be taken in forgetfulness of what has been already said touching the clearness with which Scripture delivers its great message. But whilst we cannot miss the general purport of Scripture, whilst nothing can be plainer than its manifestation of the gospel, undeniably it offers to our faith doctrines which are wholly mysteries, and which it is impossible that the human understanding should investigate. I may instance the doctrines of the Trinity, the

incarnation, the action of the Spirit in regeneration and sanctification, and the resurrection. In the apprehension and explanation of these doctrines we cannot proceed a hair's-breadth beyond the plain statements of the Bible. They relate to things entirely above the reach of inductive research or any kind of legitimate speculation. No study of our own mental operations, or of human experience—no science of any kind—can throw the least additional light upon them. We cannot attain to any deeper knowledge of them than was possessed by those who first carefully and devoutly examined the Scripture statements regarding them. And yet these doctrines, it is obvious, are of the highest consequence in Christian theology—in revealed religion. They are so essential to it that their denial (the denial, indeed, of any one of them) would completely change its character. Not only are these doctrines of exceeding importance in themselves; they stand so related to the whole system of Christian truth that every part of it is greatly affected by them. They are pivots on which theology turns, the framework on which it is constructed. A theology which leaves out the mysteries is not the theory of the Bible. If our theology shall faithfully exhibit the teachings of the sacred volume it must not only embrace but give great prominence to the mysteries, whether in theology proper, in soteriology, or in eschatology. These are the mountain ranges on which the clouds ever rest; but how different the landscape if they are wanting or their form is changed! Now this important feature of theological science limits, we think, in a large degree, the possibilities of its development. Theological science has restrictions imposed upon it to which the science of nature is not subject. It cannot get away from the mysteries—cannot leave them behind; and it cannot develop them.

We do not, be it observed, take the ground of Mansel and others, that a science of theology, as involving the unconditioned as a factor, is impossible. We believe in the validity of theological science, and reject the notion that our knowledge of the Divine is merely regulative and practical. We believe, too, in the progress of this science within certain limits; but the mysteries of revealed religion, we cannot but think, unite with the considerations already set forth, in putting the science of theology, as regards progress, in a different category from the natural sciences.

But is not the science of nature, it may be replied, placed under restrictions like to those imposed upon theology by its mysteries? Are there not in all science facts and principles which cannot be investigated? Do not our researches soon bring us to a region in which all is mysterious, the origin of existence and the substratum of things? And do not the mysteries which environ us in every department of the science of nature correspond, as to the matter in hand, with the mysteries of theology? If, therefore, the presence of mystery does not forbid indefinite progress in other sciences, why should it in this one? The answer, I think, is this: *The alleged mysteries of natural science do not properly belong to it. They are not found in its true province, but beneath it and above it.*

Science brings us face to face with them, but they are outside its jurisdiction, and when the scientist ventures to speculate regarding them, he may not claim to be guided by scientific lights: he speaks as an ordinary man. These mysteries are no part of the subject-matter of science; but, in theology, we have seen how entirely it is otherwise. Eliminate the mysteries, stop when you reach the mysteries,—and you shall have a meagre theology and an unscriptural. We insist, therefore, that another important difference has been indicated between theological and other scientific inquiry.

This paper is already too long, and we have no room left to show how the *history of dogma* lends confirmation to the view which distinguishes between natural science and theology as to the possibility of development; and, at the same time, helps us to estimate the kind and degree of progress of which theological science admits.

WILLIAM CAVEN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE LABOURING CLASSES.

I.—IN THE UNITED STATES.*

THE compact volume of Dr. Hitchcock, on Socialism,† in a quick succession of arrowy sentences, casts much important light upon many theoretical and practical aspects of a subject which needs all possible elucidation from every quarter. It is a good sign when men of this grade give serious attention to such subjects, and favour the public with the ripe results of their studies. The Answer‡ to it has value, not so much for any positive light it gives us, as for the revelations it makes of the forms which socialistic errors are assuming, and the schemes proposed to give them a practical realisation. The author avows himself a property-holder, and a defender of the right of property to the protection of society, in moderate amounts, if honestly acquired. So far it is a confirmation of Dr. Hitchcock's remarks, that outright, bold communism cannot make headway in the United States, in the face of its vast body of land and property holders. It denounces those "who advocate an equal distribution of property" as "only the fanatical few." It asserts "that large estates cannot be accumulated quickly and honestly, and it is quite obvious that most, perhaps all, large estates are not honestly obtained. As it is impracticable to return such estates into the hands of those from whom they were unjustly obtained, we would

* [This article will be followed up by others, by different writers, on the same subject in Germany, Britain, &c.—EDITOR.]

† Socialism. By Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D. New York: Randolph & Co. 1877.

‡ A Reply to Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., on Socialism. By a Socialist. New York: Charles P. Sowerby.

have them, above a certain maximum sum, made over to the State for the benefit of the poor. Hence we would fix by statute an amount above which no individual should be permitted to hold property. . . . There would be no injustice in this, in the great majority of cases, since vast wealth is usually dishonestly obtained. . . . As most men would desire the privilege of securing a moderate competency, there would be little danger of this maximum sum ever being fixed below that which would ensure all the happiness that property is capable of affording us" (pp. 45, 46).

That the accumulation of some large as well as small estates has been tainted with fraud, is quite as undeniable as that much of the labour out of which property originally grows has in it the taint of eye-service. But, that the simple possession of great estates, however quickly acquired, is *primâ facie* evidence that they are the spoils of fraud or robbery, is a charge demonstrably false, and simply atrocious. This is easily proved. There is, however, no need of it, even if we had the space. But it would be difficult to invent or propagate a doctrine more inflammatory, or more likely to scatter "firebrands, arrows, and death." On this basis, the author of the Reply proposes that the State should confiscate all of such estates exceeding a moderate amount, and distribute them, or the income and profits of them, to the poor. Several reasons show the fatuity of this plan. First, the amount of a competency in different situations of life is so variable. Different persons differ so much in the numbers dependent upon them, and the expenses which befit their station. The cost of a merely comfortable home in some of our cities would make a generous estate among scattered farmers in a rural town. Then, if such a communistic law existed, it would encounter evasions nameless and numberless, in the concealment and sequestration of property, or in its division, as to nominal title, among numerous owners; or it would be defeated by the spendthrift, by waste, or by refusal to accumulate property of which there could be no ownership, disposal, or enjoyment. This would cause the loss of large capital otherwise accumulated, and seeking and rewarding labour to utilise it. The result would be that this supposed surplus property would cease to exist for the purposes of spoliation by the State in order to distribution among the poor. Whereas, without any such maximum standard, under proper Christian and philanthropic guidance, large portions of these great estates would go for the relief of poverty and suffering, for the propagation of the Gospel, for the establishment and endowment of great institutions of religion, education, and charity, in whose benefits the poor often share most largely. The scheme of "Socialist" is thus simply suicidal, if not worse. It is proper to add, that "Socialist" exhibits a very bitter animus towards the living Christianity both of the present and the past. The only feasible scheme for depleting large estates by law, in the interest of equalising property, he has not touched. Taxation has reached a height in most countries which already forms an extremely

heavy, and if much increased must become a crushing incubus upon production and the rewards of labour as well. But there is a single form of tax—that upon incomes—which, rightly graduated, might check the immense accumulations of great estates without burdening or crushing production. There are serious evils attendant upon such a tax, and we are by no means as yet prepared to sanction it. We only advert to it as the most practicable method by which the State can abate the evil of which “Socialist” complains; but it is one which he entirely ignores.

We cannot, however, dwell longer on visionary schemes for increasing the resources of the labouring classes. We must hasten to real and practicable methods of amelioration. It will, of course, be understood that the following suggestions have for the most part a primary reference to the United States.

It is our business to show what are genuine and what are spurious plans for relieving the inequalities of property among men, and improving the straitened condition of the labouring classes, or of the poor who are without strength to labour.

We have no time to enter on some general considerations that bear on our subject—such as the increased comfort available for the working classes now, as compared with former times; or the changes wrought by steam, cheapening products on the one hand, but concentrating the working classes in great masses, exposing them to the evils of crowded and unwholesome dwellings, and rendering them liable, when a glut comes in the market, to be thrown hopelessly out of employment.

We assume the fundamental importance of moral and Christian training, and the sway of Christian love in harmonising the conflicts and smoothing the difficulties between employers and employees. We insist upon this, notwithstanding the bitter sneers of “Socialist” at Christianity and the Church. In the light of Christianity we all are brethren, members one of another, so that, in due form and measure, the prosperity of each is the prosperity of all, and that of all of each. So all have a care one of another, because if one suffers, all suffer, and if one rejoices, all rejoice.

I.

In seeking the economic improvement of the labouring classes, the trouble arises from the vast estates of a few confronting the poverty of the multitudes of toilers. A great middle class of small or moderate property-holders is the remedy. To this end, laws which permanently prevent the breaking up of vast land tenures, and the large increase of landholders, need to be abolished. The specialities of British pauperism, as set forth by her greatest statesmen and philanthropists, we shall be unable to touch. We have seen no better methods of treating pauperism, as we understand it, than those indicated by Thomas Chalmers—*clarum et venerabile nomen*.

The first and great effort should be to turn the largest number of labourers possible into capitalists, not by any communistic distribution

of the wealth already accumulated, but by the invention and promotion of methods to induce them to accumulate. Then, whatever else they may be, they will be anti-communists. These accumulations will, in the first instance, mostly be invested in homes, or otherwise for the household, thus intertwining with themselves the purest and strongest affections of nature ; all the more so, if they are ennobled and purified by grace. Every instinct of nature will then rise up against communistic and socialistic raids upon private property.

But how can this be done ? In various ways—(1.) There is the simple process in which all accumulations have had their beginning,—of spending less than is earned. Let the surplus be never so little, it is one talent which, if well put to use, will soon increase. This process is evermore going onward with multitudes of people. It has been the original germ of most of the estates now in being, and has worked out its results without any special organisations or associations to promote it. Suppose now that, under the stimulus of ordinary motives, a labourer has acquired one or more hundreds of dollars—how shall he invest it ? There can be no safer way than in a home, or the beginnings of a home, or in a Government bond, as now minimised in the United States so as to take up the smallest savings ; or a savings bank, founded substantially on Government bonds ; or other equivalent, unquestionable, accumulating security. The number of savings banks, however, that have failed of late points to the necessity of efficient Governmental supervision for the protection of depositors.

Another mode of investment is in the stocks of the manufactory or other business in which the labourer is employed, if its regulations admit of it. This has the advantage of identifying his interest with that of his employers, but along with this the disadvantage of subjecting his savings to the risks of the business—a very serious disadvantage in the light of recent economic history—so serious as to make its expediency more than doubtful, except in rare cases.

(2.) We pass on to notice methods of co-operation among the working classes, by which self-help in saving may be stimulated by organised mutual helpfulness. The principal kinds are co-operative building and loan associations, stores, banks, and manufacturing companies. Of these, the foremost are building and loan associations, in which those who, having nothing but earnings and small savings, may become shareholders by paying a regular contribution in sums that are practicable to the prudent labourer. Each share, for instance, is expected by the accumulations of constantly added principal, compound interest, and a bonus paid for loans, to amount to \$200 in a few years. Five shares will thus become worth \$1000 in a short period, sufficient, when lots and buildings are cheap, to erect a small but comfortable dwelling. This, or some larger sum, is borrowed, in anticipation, of the association by members wishing to build, upon a mortgage of the property, which is soon lightened by the accumulation of the shares in the association held

by the mortgager and owner of the property. The typical instance of the successful working of such institutions is in the city of Philadelphia, the largest hive, we believe, of manufacturing industry on the American continent. Thousands upon thousands of houses have come to be owned by operatives through this means, which have elevated the labouring population quite above the average of other cities, where they are too often rotting physically, mentally, and morally in slums fitted only for the communistic herding of brutes, or for breeding communistic riot and devastation.

Next come co-operative stores, of which those of the Rochdale Association in England furnish the typical, because by far the most successful, example. Beginning with a few weavers who combined their means in shares to form a co-operative store which should deal only in pure goods obtained from first hands at best cash prices, selling only for cash, avoiding all losses from bad debts, they divide a fair interest on their capital. They then divide, *pro rata*, to all their customers the surplus profits in proportion to the amount of their purchases, allowing all to become shareholders on payment of the amount for each share represented by itself, whether this be derived from the profits upon their purchases or from other sources.

Another mode is that of co-operative banking, in which a vast aggregate of shares, contributed from the savings of labourers, acquires the credit, and divides the profit of a vast amount of capital. This gives financial position to the owners as a class, while the bank is always ready to aid them with needed loans upon adequate security. We should fear the dangers of unwise or fraudulent management, judging from our experience in this country, and should hesitate, until such contingencies were duly provided for, to recommend our poorer classes to make such a disposition of their earnings. But we refer to it, as in Germany the great co-operative bank organised by Delitzsch on something like the foregoing plan, is reported to be a pre-eminent success, its operations reaching to hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

Co-operative manufacturing, in which the labourers, by combining small capitals, become capitalists and masters, as well as workers in production, are desirable on every account, whenever they can be arranged on a basis which secures trustworthy and competent management, along with efficient production. Instances are by no means rare of successful manufacturing corporations in which the operatives are owners either in part or wholly.

II.

We must now proceed to notice some hindrances to the prosperity of labourers which require to be removed, in order to the greatest possible improvement of their condition.

First come obstacles created by the perversion of the co-operative principle, obstructing efficiency in production. We refer especially to the manacles forged by labourers for themselves, by trades unions and strikes

not directed in proper ways. There is a legitimate sphere for trades unions beyond the forms of co-operation already alluded to—that of mutual improvement and helpfulness, including also, where the modes of individual and co-operative saving already pointed out are not available, the contribution or deposit by the members of the whole or a portion of their savings to form a guaranty fund to secure needful aid in case of sickness, disability, or death; thus combining substantially the benefits of savings banks and life insurance. So far as these unions are benevolent institutions for such purposes, we unqualifiedly bid them God-speed.

But there is a more prominent function by which they have been largely signalised—involving interference with the liberty of employers and employed, in hiring and working for whomsoever, and upon whatever terms they please; prohibiting variations in the wages of those employed in proportion to the amount or quality of the work done, thus destroying the strongest stimulus to superior skill and efficiency in the labour; and, in order the more effectually to do this, forbidding piecework; and also preventing the free employment of apprentices, in order to lessen the number of skilled workmen, and fortify and aggravate their monopoly. This turns unemployed youths into vagrants, tramps,* criminals, and paupers; while it vastly increases the wants of unskilled labourers, whose own wages are thus lessened by their increasing numbers and competition, while they are obliged, out of these reduced wages, to pay exorbitant prices for the articles made by the monopolists. The combination thus arising is that of a few labourers, not against capital so much as against employers, and not against employers so much as against the great mass of labourers, thus tending to degrade and impoverish them.

Now, we have nothing to say against the liberty of all to work or cease to work when they please, provided always that they violate no contract, express or implied, interfere with no one's liberty, and do not become a charge upon the public; all which, we make bold to say, ought to be prevented, if need be, by the strong arm of law, as a defence to the rest of society. So, also, all arbitrary rules which compel employers to hire hands not needed—for instance, tenders to masons whose work does not require them; or to buy dearer articles in preference to cheaper, as, for instance, to buy bricks made in a given place at a dearer rate than those manufactured in another place can be purchased.†

The success of these objectionable features of trades unions de-

* "Fifty years ago there were no tramps, but there were plenty of apprentices. Then everybody could learn a trade. Now boys are shut out from all trades by the arbitrary laws of trades unions. Manufacturers dare not employ any boys, and the beneficent, time-honoured apprentice system is entirely abolished. Boys without trades grow up without education, and become idle members of society, living upon their relatives while times are good, and when they cannot keep them longer, the youngsters are turned loose upon society perfect outlaws."—ANON.

† See "Wages Question," by Francis A. Wallser, pp. 406-8.

pend, in the long run, upon the success of strikes, and that generally involves some lawlessness and violence to ensure such success. For strikes can seldom be successful without some sort of violence or terrorism to prevent other workers from taking the places of the strikers. Against all such invasion of his liberty to work, every man should be protected, if need be, by the exercise of the extreme power of the State.

But there are some kinds of strikes which are so carried on as not to be mere combinations against employers. They are conspiracies against the welfare, safety, nay, if successfully persisted in, the very life of society. Of this sort are all strikes of railway operatives which are so conducted as to disable railways from running. If no contract is violated, railway proprietors and their employees should be protected in the liberty to continue or discontinue their relations to each other upon fair notice given. If all, or a given class of the employees of any railway, without violation of contract, choose to stop work upon it, upon such brief notice as will not disable the company, by leaving no time to procure substitutes, they should not be hindered or molested in so doing. But, if they agree to strike by stopping and deserting all trains on a given road at a given minute, no matter where they are, this is not merely a retaliation upon their employers, but a conspiracy against the peace and safety of society. It has occurred more than once. The laws of more than one State define such a procedure as conspiracy, and justly subject it to the penalties due to conspiracy against society. The most terrible instance of this kind occurred in the great railroad strike of the summer of 1877, extending over a considerable east-to-west belt of the United States, and culminating in the famous or infamous Pittsburgh riot on the Pennsylvania Railroad, in which an immense body of strikers and tramps, with recruits from all the "dangerous classes," held high carnival. They destroyed millions of property, turned that city on a beautiful Sabbath into a pandemonium of arson and bloodshed, more emblematic of the lake of fire than of the heavenly rest. This was not all. Railway transportation and travel were interrupted for weeks; mails were detained; people were disabled from fulfilling engagements and doing business dependent on quick travel. Vast quantities of merchandise, stopped in its progress, suffered ruin, when of a perishable nature; or, if not, seriously lost in value from not reaching its destination in due season for its proper use. Even the Government was hindered from transporting troops over these roads to keep the peace and suppress the insurrection. For a week or two there was a reign of terror. Now, we have no hesitation in saying that strikes upon railways which disable their owners from working them, are combinations not only against those owners, but against the very life of society. Railways have so much taken the place of waggon-roads and navigable streams, that to impede their operation by lawless methods is very much like barricading the common roads and water-courses of a country by mobs, or putting towns and cities in a state of siege. We do not hesitate to say that strikers of this

sort are strikers at the very life of the body politic, stopping the circulation of its life-blood. The quarrel with the owners of the railway is merely incidental. Strikes of this nature ought, on no pretext, and in no circumstances, to be tolerated, if there is power enough in society to suppress them. And no secret junto empowered to order them ought to be tolerated.

The same principle applies with needful limitations to the stoppage of the coal supply, whether by combinations of the owners, or of workers of mines to force up prices to abnormal rates.

In general it is evident, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, that all strikes to force up the wages on a falling labour market must fail. They issue in loss to the labourer and benefit to the employer, by enabling him to get rid of accumulated unsold stock; of this the last five years abound in memorable examples. On a rising labour market they accomplish, often at an immense loss to all parties, what the competition of employers must certainly bring about in due time, if it be profitable to employ labour at the higher rates. It is not denied that, in some instances, strikes have availed to advance prices sooner than free competition would have done. But we doubt whether the cost has not exceeded the benefit in all but the most exceptional cases. The laws of trade and industry, left to the operation of free competition among intelligent men, will execute themselves in the end in spite of all abnormal obstacles put in their way.

Much has been said and printed of arbitration as a remedy or preventive of strikes and other forms of trades-union interference and dictation. We welcome these or any other rational expedients for softening or averting such conflicts. We do not doubt that arbitration may often be useful and sometimes effectual. Nevertheless, we do not see how the conclusions of any such tribunal can be, or of necessity ought to be conclusive. By what right can they compel employers to pay wages for labour which makes their business a losing one? And of this who is to be the judge but the employer himself? Or on what principle can they compel labourers to work at rates which they deem oppressive?

One thing is certain, no combination of employers or employees can permanently raise wages higher than is consistent with a fair profit to the capitalist who employs labour, or make them lower than is necessary to the due sustenance of the labourer for the skilful and effective prosecution of his work. It is evident that in the United States and Great Britain the extreme limits of practicable wages have been reached for the present, because the cost of production is already such that the markets which they have hitherto controlled are in danger of being lost without such a lowering of prices as will render continued production unprofitable. Such difficulties now assail or threaten many branches of British and American production, and originate some of the hardest economic problems of the day. No strikes or trades unions can permanently force the price of labour above the rate at which it can be profitably employed.

Closely connected with this, as related to the labourer's welfare, is the

cultivation by him of all those qualities, physical, intellectual, and moral, which increase his efficiency and his ability to command employment at the best rates of compensation. Let him cultivate energy, skill, pre-eminent fidelity. The field is yet open with flattering prospects for all such. Whatever the over-crowding, there is always "room at the top." The loss primarily to employers, and indirectly to labourers, from "eye-service," is immense. Let none attend trades unions, or other organisations that so bind them hand and foot, that they cannot gain the normal advantage of any superiority they may possess or acquire. And this suggests the immense importance of general education in increasing the skill and the earnings of labourers.

III.

This, too, casts some light upon the vexed question of cheap labour. Labour is dear or cheap in proportion, not to the price paid for the time occupied, but for the services rendered. And it will surprise one who reads Mr. Thomas Brassey's book on "Work and Wages" to see how he proves, in his chapter on "Cost of Labour," that in countries where the lowest wages prevail, the cost of production is greater than in those where wages rule highest, on account of the greater inefficiency of the labourer. His father, in constructing railways all over the globe, found the cost of construction marvellously equal, notwithstanding prodigious differences in day-wages in different countries. He often found it advantageous to transport English labourers to the Continent and to India, at double, triple, and quadruple the wages of native workmen, on account of their superior energy and skill. This did not, indeed, extend to all varieties of service. But it was true on the whole. In the long-run, equal products of labour, efficient and inefficient, will tend to exchange for each other; and while, in reference to special conditions and circumstances, certain kinds of labour may be for the time relatively low or high, yet, under the law of free competition, all labour, *measured by its products*, will tend to become equally cheap or equally dear. The Chinese, with their immobility and imitativeness, may compete with us in narrow spheres; but this is only in lines which do not impede, but rather clear the way for the intelligent, flexible, and elastic work of the Anglo-Saxon. Here we notice the scheme for preventing cheapness of labour, by preventing those who, without crime, choose to work at the best rates they can get, even if these are below the average market rate; or by preventing prisoners from being compelled by the State to work in order to defray the cost of their support, so that, instead of allowing them to rot in idleness, it constrains them to form habits fitting them to resume their place as reformed citizens. The war against the labour of the State-prison convicts because their fabrics may enter into competition with those of other labourers in any given department is simply insane. No other possible interpretation of it would be so creditable. It is a disgrace, alike to the mechanics that insist upon it, and the politicians

who pander to them. The same is true of the attempt to prevent immigration to the United States of foreigners, who, in some departments, will labour for less wages than others already in possession, many of whom were themselves immigrants who, in their turn, began working at less rates than those on the ground before them. It is by this means that the United States have been developed and enriched, so that all prudent classes are able to live now far better than they could half-a-century ago. The very house servants in the United States get three times what they could have got then. They are mostly foreigners. Their wages keep up while those of all others have declined.

It is difficult, on economic principles, to discriminate between the effects of cheap labour, labour-saving machinery, and unusually bountiful harvests, in increasing the public wealth. All alike contribute to it, and contribute to the abundance produced for distribution among all classes, and for their increased comfort, including the labourer with his average amount of effort. To be sure, it is inevitable that, whether improved machinery, or exuberant crops, or cheaply-working labourers in any department, produce this increased abundance, some of the existing classes of labourers who are thus superseded may suffer temporary inconvenience and jostling, in their present spheres of employment. But, on the whole, the effect is that the classes crowded out by this cheaper labour are crowded up to the higher planes of more intelligent and better paid labour. The drudgery is very largely taken off their shoulders by those who thus underbid them. The United States have certainly reached their present wealth through the incoming of labourers from all parts of the world to aid in their development; and these, at the same time, have bettered their own condition. These cheap labourers have dug the roads and drains, and cleared the forests, to smooth the way for the less drudging and more productive labour of others. We apprehend that the effect of increasing the number of labourers in any country, or section of country, other things being equal, turns entirely on this—whether the undeveloped resources of that country are such as to admit of employing that increase with advantage to themselves and enlargement of the general wealth of society, in an average equable distribution amongst its members? The answer to this question is, in new and undeveloped countries, Yes; in old and fully or over-populated, No. The importation of vice, irreligion, and corruption, is always an unmitigated evil, whether in the persons of labourers or others. But the importation of those who thrive on small gains, willingly accepted for large services, can only enrich countries still undeveloped, and all classes may be benefited by it.

We have no time to dwell on the improvement in the condition of the working classes which would be produced by discontinuing the use of intoxicating liquors, on which such a vast amount of their earnings is spent. We will simply add that the surest way out of present difficulties is for each one to go to work at what, on the whole, will yield him the best compensation employers can afford to pay him. Thus, if all are

employed in productive labour, the largest product will be made for the common enjoyment of all. If all commodities are produced at low rates for labour, and at the present low rates of compensation to capital, they themselves will be as cheap as the labour and capital which produce them. This may seem paradoxical to some, demonstrable as it is; and not only so, but at these rates their fabrics will be capable of competing successfully, like our agricultural products, in the markets of the world, and so of being, in some good degree, above the capricious fluctuations of markets in our own or any other single country.

Just here comes to view what we can barely suggest, as the only practicable solution of the most formidable economic paradox of this and most other periods of protracted financial disorder—viz., over-production in the face of appalling destitution. How is this seeming paradox to be explained and corrected? How is over-production possible in the face of abounding poverty and destitution, or, indeed, at all? For how can mankind ever have such material abundance that they do not crave more; nay, as a whole, might not advantageously have more? The difficulty lies not in any absolute over-production, but in misproportioned production, involving excess in some departments with deficiency in others; so that a surplus of articles in one department fails to find a sufficiency of articles in other departments ready to be exchanged for them.

What, then, is the remedy? Purely and simply this: let capital and labour both turn to the occupations and places which offer employment for each at the best rates. This may require time and entail inconvenience. But it is the only sure remedy in the end, always tending as it does to completeness just in proportion as all artificial inducements of monopoly-profits which lead to the temporary overcrowding of particular industries are withdrawn, and the fullest scope given to the operation of free and intelligent competition of well-trained and educated men in determining the sphere and uses of labour and capital. This and this alone is what, with the least friction, will put right all maladjustments of labour and capital, and issue in the most plentiful universal production for the largest enjoyment of all.

We cannot sum up our views better than in the words of the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, in a recent lecture:—

“Inequality in the condition of men must exist. There must be capital on the one side to give employment to labour on the other. There are four distinct classes—first, the very rich; second, the great middle class; third, the industrious working classes; and fourth, the paupers. If the first and the fourth should cease to exist, the community would not have cause to shed tears. The problem is to get rid of these two classes. This cannot be done by legislation, but will be brought about by the action of causes now in operation, by which the possessions of the very rich will be distributed among the very poor. The conflict now existing will slowly but surely effect this transfer without revolution by the gradual growth of a better understanding between the employer and the employed. In Great Britain the legislation has been reformed with a view to admit of the joint ownership of employer with the employed; and this system adopted here will be productive of good results. This division of ownership must not spring from

charity, but from mutual interest. Abstinence on the part of the labourer will materially aid in producing this result. The money expended by him for tobacco and liquor and other indulgences would, in a single year, go very far toward the creation of a fund with which he might secure an interest in his employer's business."

LYMAN H. ATWATER.

THE RIGHTFUL PLACE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

[We insert this paper with sincere pleasure, as a layman's earnest pleading for an object of supreme importance, for attaining which it is necessary that the Churches should in some way be *shaken* into more earnestness. We do not concur in all his views of how this may best be done; but the subject needs to be placed in all lights, for there is no duty laid on the Church less earnestly performed than that of "preaching the Gospel to every creature."—Ed.]

THE first number of *The Catholic Presbyterian*, in finding a place for Dr. Livingstone's refreshing paper on "Missionary Sacrifices," and Mr. Fleming Stevenson's thoughtful and suggestive references to his "Mission Tour round the World," presented attractive features to all the friends of foreign missions. The subject of missions is worthy to be reproduced in each successive number, in one or other of its multiform aspects. Might not foreign missionaries be induced to become contributors, and thus help to keep alive the interest which is but too apt to flag when the enterprise is distant, and the labourers out of sight? Suffer one who is neither a missionary nor the visitant of mission scenes to offer some remarks on a subject which he feels is too high for him, but which (as he is deeply impressed) needs to be thoroughly ventilated; perhaps abler minds, when weighing the claims of the heathen world, will be led to present these claims in a worthy manner in the future pages of this magazine. In other ecclesiastical and theological Reviews there has but too frequently prevailed an ominous silence on this wide-reaching topic. Has not this been too much the case in Presbyterian circles; and is such silence significant of the state of opinion and feeling pervading the Churches in our connexion, or is it only an indication that the leading minds are absorbed with questions which appear to them of greater urgency than the solution of the problem of preaching the Gospel to every creature? Or may we not console ourselves, people and leaders alike, with the reflection that in this matter we are no worse, if no better, than our neighbours in other denominations; for do not they and we with singular and unscriptural unanimity largely disregard the word of the apostle—"Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others"? (Phil. ii. 4). Here I feel I am liable to be pulled up sharply whilst one and another friend points, with what some would call pardonable (?) pride, to the missionary triumphs of this century, and exclaims—"Behold the proof that we are seriously attending to the things of others!" Yes, truly, there are great missionary

triumphs to rejoice over, as there ever will be when the Church is faithful to the great commission : it is chiefly in this sphere that God is giving signal proofs of His favour in these last days ; and no one who listened to the uninterrupted tale of missionary successes all round the globe, which gladdened our hearts at the Mildmay Conference in October last, will question the fulfilment of the contingent promise—"Lo, I am with you alway, unto the end of the age." It struck me that the beloved missionary brethren exhibited a more joyful bearing than stay-at-home Christians do ; perhaps they had more assured experience of the Master's presence and smile. Next to listening to the Mildmay addresses, for stimulus and education in this matter will be the perusal of the volume* just published, containing full reports of the six days' proceedings.

Probably most of our true-hearted and intelligent church members, and notably our ministers, if appealed to in this fashion—"Is the foreign mission enterprise of the Church of equal importance to the work at home?" would readily answer in the affirmative. Some, indeed, would with eagerness reply, "Surely of much more importance!" And whilst I prefer the latter formula, and am prepared to defend it as the more accurate and Christ-honouring, I would feel great content to accept the former, as a huge instalment towards rectifying the present unrighteous disproportion prevalent in the Church, as regards the thought bestowed, the labour expended, the gifts offered, and the men enlisted in the sacred cause of spreading the Gospel in "the regions beyond." I say it would be a huge instalment gained were there any real correspondence between the ready assent to the above proposition and the actual facts open to the inspection of the most cursory observer. Is there no reason to complain that a mere sentimental admission of a great wrong is year by year taking the place of active endeavour to redress it ; and that multitudes of good men are content with an occasional despairing sigh over the inadequate attempts to offer the Gospel to every creature, but stop short of a deliberate and united movement, first to give the enterprise their weighty and persistent counsel and support, and then to summon the Christian home communities to the work which the Master is calling them to perform ? My regard is here fixed upon Christian pastors ; they hold the key of the position ; their influence is still vast, and usually put forth on the side of right and truth ; but they themselves will not be the last to confess shortcomings and want of thought about this great question, and in the pages of this Review it is fitting to call attention now and again to our neglects and failures as well as to our progress and victories.

Practically, the immense undertaking we describe as Christian missions, looked at from our Protestant standpoint, devolves chiefly upon the United Kingdom and the United States, or (more briefly) upon England and America. We are not unmindful of the part taken by Continental Protestant countries, as Sweden and Germany, in missions to the heathen ;

* J. F. Shaw & Co., 48 Paternoster Row, London.

but, on the other hand, the Continent claims from us, and to some extent receives evangelical agencies, sorely needed to lighten up the dark places of superstition. Our colonies, again, have mission work cut out for them within their own boundaries, where in many cases aboriginal races are not far to seek; or, as in Australia and New Zealand, where Chinese immigration has set in on a considerable scale. The two great Anglo-Saxon races God seems calling in the present epoch of the world's history to be His witnesses to the ends of the earth, in proclaiming Jesus as Messiah to the Jews, Jesus as true Prophet to the Mohammedans, Jesus as Light of the world to the multitudinous heathen nations who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. How are the two highly-favoured Bible lands of the present century discharging the commission?

Of America I may not presume to speak. Their foreign missions and foreign missionaries are a praise in all the Churches, and they have exhibited signal courage in endeavouring to assail some of the strongest positions, as, for example, Mohammedanism in Turkey. My impression is, that *in the giving of their best* in men and in money they have shown more self-denial than the British Churches have as yet done. But in this brief paper I must confine myself to what lies within my own horizon, and is patent to any careful Christian observer in England. In any comparison between England and America, it must be borne in mind that on the former rests a far weightier responsibility, in respect of her more ancient history in connection with Christianity, her accumulated wealth and opportunities, her old seats of Christian learning, and the peace within her insular borders, which has prevailed unbroken for nearly two centuries. Happily, I have neither time nor inclination to draw comparison between the two great sister countries, though I would be glad if I could stir to emulation any of the Churches on either side of the Atlantic.

No one in England is entitled to speak on the subject of missionary statistics with greater authority than Dr. Mullens. From his lips I have learned that a careful examination of the proportionate givings in congregational churches some years ago brought out the fact that eighty-five per cent. of money raised for church purposes were required for home expenditure, and fifteen per cent. bestowed upon foreign missions.* From Mr. Frederick Martin's pamphlet, "The Property and Revenues of the English Church Establishment," I find a total of £5,383,560 set down as the yearly income of the Church of England, and in *Evangelical Christendom* (June, 1878) I observe the Church of England contributions to Foreign, Jewish, and Turkish Missions reached a total of £463,865

To which, if we add as the probable share of Church of England subscribers to the foreign work of the Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society,	150,000
We get a total of	£613,865

* It is noteworthy that children's offerings within the Churches are almost wholly given to Foreign Mission agencies.

Showing a fraction over ten per cent. for Foreign Missions, and ninety per cent. for the requirements of the Church at home.* But the case is really much worse, for the ninety per cent. does not consist of the free-will offerings of the Church of England, but arises from the revenue from endowments, and a Church so endowed should leave her people at liberty to bestow enormously in excess of unendowed Churches in their proportion of gifts for mission purposes, although it may be remarked, *per contra*, that the habit of mind fostered by Churches richly endowed is not so stimulating to Christian liberality as the habit induced in Christian communities whose whole annual revenues are made up of voluntary contributions.

I have before me tables exhibiting the contributions of the Free Church of Scotland for thirty-one years, from the Disruption down to the year 1874. Leaving out of the account the sums contributed for colleges and colonies, I find a total for home purposes in these thirty-one years of £9,344,764, and for Jewish, Continental, and foreign missions £833,458, or a yearly average of £301,121 and £26,918 respectively. These figures exhibit a percentage of about eighty-eight for home and twelve per cent. for foreign-mission purposes. Coming, lastly, to the English Presbyterian Church for another example, and illustrating its practice by the figures presented to the Synod in 1878, I discover a deficiency in the percentage given to foreign, Continental, and Jewish missions more painful than any yet recorded here, though it is to be accounted for, in part at least, by the special efforts put forth on behalf of a union thanksgiving fund, which has temporarily raised the ratio of giving for home purposes, thus necessarily lowering the ratio for foreign missions. Out of a total of £220,000 not seven per cent. (£13,500) were allotted to that great object, ninety-three per cent. remaining for the purposes of the Church at home. I am confirmed in these statements by Professor Leone Levi.

"My brethren, these things ought not so to be." Can no remedy be found to redress the balance of an inequality so painful and so grievous, and which is sufficient to account for the scantiness of the blessing descending upon our home Churches notwithstanding widespread efforts put forth on every side? Is it not worth our while to find, if possible, some way out of the bad groove into which we have sunk, and to discover some better road on which to travel? Can it be right to bestow upon the eighty millions of England and America nine-tenths of all the great funds gathered in these two countries for Christian purposes, and to reserve only one poor tenth for the perishing one thousand and thirty millions of heathens, Mohammedans, and Jews in the rest of the world?†

* The disproportion is really much greater, for in Mr. Martin's statistics no account is taken, I believe, of Church of England pew-rents and the offertory,—these two sources of income representing an unascertained but enormous annual revenue.

† I have here put on one side the two hundred and seventy-five millions of Roman Catholic, Greek, and Armenian Christians, as the present paper does not profess to deal with our relationship to them.

The disproportion in the manner of expenditure calls loudly for redress, but the disproportion of awful need is truly appalling in its magnitude, when set alongside of the privileges of two favoured nations which take such good care of themselves.

There may be many remedies occurring to other minds disposed seriously to ponder the difficulty ; meanwhile, I venture to offer two suggestions. If they appear somewhat sweeping, let us remember how heavily the present state of things presses upon a dying world ; that we have responsibilities in connection with myriads perishing for lack of knowledge, and that our methods hitherto have accomplished neither at home nor abroad what we had a right to expect, if these methods were in harmony with the will of God as plainly revealed in His Word.

I. I say the home Churches might well agree to put a stop to church building.

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* (October, 1877), on "Restoration and Anti-restoration," we are told that in England since the commencement of the Oxford revival, forty years ago, from twenty to thirty millions sterling have been spent on church restoration alone. We know that church building as well as church restoration has been going on, within the Church of England, during the same period, on an enormous scale ; it is not, therefore, too much to say that on these two closely related objects a million per annum has been expended. It is notorious that in the Nonconformist Churches a desire has simultaneously sprung up for larger and more ornate buildings ; and Wesleyans, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians have alike acquired expensive tastes, and demand costlier edifices to worship in, than such as satisfied their fathers. The Free Church of Scotland is at present calling for a new church building fund of £100,000, and probably the other Churches in the northern part of our island will not be behind-hand in similar endeavours ; this, be it remarked, in the most over-churched country in the whole world. Our Presbyterian Church of England, which follows at a considerable distance behind the older and deeper-rooted denominations in England in the matter of buildings to worship in, endeavoured a few years ago to raise a quarter of a million in celebration of the union of two branches of the family ; and I do no injustice to my brethren who were foremost in promoting that endeavour if I say that church building bulked more largely in their minds than any other aim in raising this fund ; and for many years past the Church has been expending annually far more on church building than upon mission work. Were the churches in England (Established and Nonconformist) crowded with worshippers, there might appear some good reason for building more, though the need-be would be more apparent than real. When shall we be able to rise above our own little surroundings, into the sphere where, imbued with the mind of Christ, we can look far afield upon a perishing world, and stretch forth a helping hand to them that are sinking into the darkness. It needs no

prophetic instinct to discover and affirm that the Church which first enters upon the path of self-abnegation, content with its present home dimensions, be they large or small, and resolutely sets its heart upon the largest share of God's work in foreign-mission fields, will be the Church most largely blessed at home in the joy and peace of her members, and must soon become more influential than if she doubled and quadrupled her edifices and her ministry in every city and town and country district.

II. I maintain that home-mission work needs to be put on an entirely different footing.

A generation is now closing in which there has been put forth more effort for what is called "the evangelisation of the masses" in this country, than was ever before witnessed in any similar period. Not only have agents been multiplied, but new agencies have been invented, and Christian ingenuity taxed to discover some new method of reaching the common people, or some new aspect in which to present the glorious Gospel. Besides the army of clergy and ministers, I need but mention the secondary forces in the shape of city missionaries, Scripture readers, colporteurs, Bible-women,* sisters of charity, deaconesses; to say nothing of the private missions and the manifold efforts which circle round certain well-known names. But there is one feature which distinguishes all, or nearly all, of these attempts to keep back the advance of ungodliness and promote true religion in our home population; it is this—the work is done by deputy. A group or a community of Christians is impressed with the need of something being done in a particular neighbourhood; and the ready device is to hire and pay for some one to do the work. A serious question arises here: Is this God's plan? Can we throw over on a substitute, be that substitute ever so competent and faithful, the piece of Christian work lying at our own doors and calling out for our own exertions and self-denial to accomplish it? Will there be a valid excuse to twelve or twenty or fifty church members, who leave undone their twelfth or twentieth or fiftieth portion of a piece of district visitation, or gospel distribution, or comforting of the sick,—that they paid regularly their twelfth or twentieth or fiftieth portion of the salary of a city missionary or Bible-woman or colporteur? One plea in justification of doing work by deputy will be quite unavailing—namely, the plea of unfitness; for the great majority of those who give their money to support city missions and Bible-women's work and colportage, are by education and in respect of privilege, and presumably in knowledge of the Word, far more fit to minister to the poor and the ignorant than the substitutes whom they employ to perform their neglected duties; and if, as Reginald Radcliffe strikingly and solemnly puts it, "ninety per cent. of our working classes in towns never enter church or chapel, the dreadful reason for this state of things lies in the fact

* We mourn the removal from the scene of earthly labour of dear Mrs. Ranyard, the able and unwearied originator and superintendent of the Bible-woman's Mission.

that ninety per cent. of church communicants, the men and the women who eat the bread and drink the wine of the Supper, have neglected these working classes, their near neighbours ; or contented themselves with paying a money fine for such neglect." Truly, we are not so far removed in practice from the Roman Catholics of Luther's time when the sale of indulgences enabled men living in neglect of the Church's requirements, to get off by the payment of a sum of money. Is there not in all this system of doing God's work by deputy, an insidious form of Simony ; and how damaging to the souls of those living in neglect of Christian duty this attempt to place the burden on other shoulders at the easy price of a few guineas. There is needed a revival of discipline in the Church which can reach all who avow and profess themselves Christians, but who avoid all share in cross-bearing and watching for souls. And here, again, I appeal to the Christian ministry ; is it not within their power to make church membership a greater reality, less easy of access to the slothful servant, and more influential for blessing in the persons of those who come full of first love and ready to work for the Master, but who have no distinct post assigned to them, and for want of guidance and authoritative direction, become idlers in the market-place ? What a change would come over the face of our home-mission fields were the church members set to work,—“all at it, and always at it,” as our Wesleyan friends say ; and what a vast amount of money now employed in paying for substitutes at home would be released for the Lord's great work abroad.

Further, has all this concentration of effort (say) in England and Scotland on home evangelisation answered the expectations of those who have fostered it most ? Have we secured the conversion of Great Britain, or of the majority in Great Britain, or of a single county or city in Great Britain ? nay, is there even a village in the land in which the people are all converted ? If so, I ask to be taken to that favoured spot, and told how it came to pass. It cannot come to pass ; such a state of things is not in the Divine plan in the dispensation which exists at present for “gathering out a people” for the name of Christ. Select a village in England ; send down relays of the best evangelists the country can produce ; surround it with a cordon of prayer ; let not a soul escape from the Gospel sound ; and will you ensure to me the conversion of the whole of the inhabitants of that village ? Multiply your clergy and your ministers a hundredfold ; build, build, build twice as many churches and chapels as we have at present ; enlist more evangelists and city missionaries and Bible-women ; and are you now much nearer your desideratum,—all England for Christ ? I have no warrant in Scripture to lead me to expect this ; but I have a warrant to expect showers of blessing when the Church submits to God's own plan, and does as St. Paul did ; could not he have found abundant excuse for waiting till Judea and Samaria and Galilee were brought to Messiah's feet, rather than go forth to Asia Minor, to Greece, to Italy, to make known to other

nations the truth concerning Jesus? Yes, but it would have been an excuse, not a valid reason; and we, who pride ourselves upon our Pauline theology, have not in this matter even the spirit of Paul, still less the spirit of Jesus Christ. Is, then, Great Britain to be deemed a modern Holy Land, upon which are to be lavished all the exclusive privileges of a specially chosen and favoured nation; are we to appropriate to ourselves the great and precious promises about Zion, her peace and her prosperity, and be content if now and then a few proselytes from the outer world gather to the name of our Lord and God; is that the Gospel we have learnt, is that our narrow thought of His great longing who "had compassion on the *multitudes*"? Methinks He looks down now on the millions of Eastern lands with a deeper sympathy and more earnest longing than upon us, who are withholding from them the bread of life whilst we are feeding to the full.

Pardon a personal remark, I would not have dared to say so much that savours of fault-finding, were I not finding fault with myself also. In all honesty, though in much ignorance, we go on making our blunders, and God is full of forbearance with us still. But when we find out our mistake, when we see that the Bible is not upon our side in any course we mark out for conduct and practice, we are in the path of danger if we persist in our old ways. And if Churches and individuals, looking at the questions I have referred to in the foregoing observations, discover divergences between their procedure and the unerring record of Holy Scripture, it cannot be well with them, and they cannot expect a blessing in opposing God's order and plan concerning the evangelisation of the nations. I appeal to men familiar with the Word of life, competent to discern its meaning, capable of interpreting the purpose of Christ in relation to the nations of the world; and I invite them to take for their text this thought, and to seek to impress it upon the membership of their Churches—OUR PERSONAL SERVICE FOR THE PERISHING AT HOME, OUR COSTLIEST OFFERINGS FOR THE PERISHING ABROAD.

JAMES E. MATHIESON.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

THE position of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands as related to other nations and the general interests of commerce; their peculiar formation as having been thrown up by coral insects from the sea, some portions being even now in the process of formation; and their strange history as connected with both civilisation and Christianity,—excite the interest of many to a degree which would not be warranted by their population or resources. Being by no means so inaccessible as they were a few years ago, a larger number of visitors are now attracted to them, and so far as the impressions thus formed are reliable, a wider extent

of knowledge is possessed on some particulars, so that it might seem unnecessary to write more about them. Yet I am convinced that many have erroneous ideas, especially of the religious condition of the islands; and, therefore, without claiming to be beyond criticism, I have decided to give some results of personal observation after a recent visit, attended with great pleasure and profit to myself.

I. THE PEOPLE.—The introduction of new influences by Christianity, and contact with civilised nations, have greatly modified, but not essentially changed, the national features and habits of the Hawaiians. They still live in grass huts, though much of the furniture in them is unlike that used by their fathers. They still eat the poi and fish which Captain Cook found to be the food of the natives, though some articles have been added to their bill of fare from the lists of the strangers who have gone to live among them.

In like manner, their peculiarities of character remain essentially the same, notwithstanding the improvements taken from those who have taught and affected them. Prominent among their characteristics is simplicity. This appears in everything, but is more universal in the passing than in the rising generation. They were a nation of children when first discovered. Many have thought that as they were involved in frequent and fierce wars, as they were often violent in their religion, making even the offering of human sacrifices a part of their worship, as they were cannibals, at least in one or two of the islands, for some years after they were discovered, they must have a peculiarly savage disposition. And it has been believed that the murder of Cook was proof of this. Explanation of all these facts, however, is found in one distinguishing element of their national, social, and religious life, which they call "tabu." The king had the right in this way to constitute any article or person consecrated to his use, devoted to his interests, or a sacrifice to the gods. Any act which the king disapproved was "tabu," and, therefore, at any cost, to be surrendered to whatever fate he might decree. Wars were thus the result not only of loyalty to the king, but of devotion to the gods. Whoever opposed, or undertook to dethrone, the king, was "tabu," until he was successful, when he assumed the right of him whom he had deposed. Captain Cook fell under this ban, because of his too great assumption, or rather because he could not maintain all he assumed. Conquered enemies were condemned to slavery or death, by torture, or by being eaten, or by any other means, simply because they had failed of success. And everything was really under the control of this one tremendous power of "tabu."

It will be seen that this institution would hardly have been possible except among a very simple-minded people, not self-asserting, not resolute, but gentle, yielding, inclined to superstition, and having but few independent and heroic men. To such people, their king would be a leader, absolute in his rule, and they would follow him almost in a mass.

This indicates another characteristic, which is still quite manifest, but was formerly prominent—viz., their social character, inclining them to live and act together. Were they only animals they would be called gregarious, and even when applied to men this is not wholly an inappropriate term. They felt entirely dependent on their leaders; this naturally gathered them into flocks, with common sentiments and interests. The feudal system was never more despotic than on these islands, when each was a separate monarchy; and after Kamehameha the Great conquered the whole group, and established his dynasty, the entire population really became his serfs, and all the land belonged to himself. This general level of the people brought them together, and cultivated a disposition to brace against each other, and find their comfort and advantage from association. In process of time, the domain was divided between the different branches of the royal family, except what was retained as crown land, and the people were distributed with the soil. In this way, different factions gradually grew up, but those included in each faction continued to have the inclination to herd together. They owned no land, and but little personal property. They had no opportunity to accumulate what might segregate them, and they made the pleasure of life consist for the most part in intercourse and social enjoyment. Hence, they had frequent clannish and religious convocations; they spent much time in promiscuous visiting, festivals, games, and various modes of conference. By these means, what one knew all knew; what one enjoyed all enjoyed; isolation was very rare, and always intolerable. This peculiarity was remarked by Captain Cook in his report of the natives, as he saw them; and the missionaries afterwards not only remarked it, but, as we shall see, turned it to account for facilitating their work of evangelisation.

Only one other characteristic we notice—they are highly emotional. As savages, their feelings were by no means refined. They seemed to be almost destitute of sympathy, as we are wont to regard that word, and when, for any reason, any one became a burden, or unable to contribute to the common stock of enjoyment, they were remorseless in their purpose to be rid of him, without regard to relationship or past advantage from him. As a nation, they were without natural affection, and entirely disregarded family ties and obligations, whenever selfish interest prompted, excelling most heathen in this heathenish outrage of nature. But for all this, they had a large element of emotion in their composition. It appeared in their love for music, their fondness for dancing, and the most exciting kinds of games, and even in the forms of vice in which they took the most pleasure. Everything was popular in the ratio in which it roused and interested the people. All public appeals were to the feelings. Their assemblies were conducted so as to create the greatest possible enthusiasm, and no loss was to be reckoned if it was the occasion of a passing pleasure. This peculiarity was the door through which some of the heaviest calamities entered by which the

people have been cursed; but as it became known it proved also a means of facilitating the advancement of good among them.

II. THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—By a series of providential events seventy years ago, four Hawaiian young men were brought to New England, who, becoming converts to Christianity, longed to have the news of salvation conveyed to their countrymen. They had received a little education in different places, and, under the direction of several persons, into whom they infused not a little of their own desire, in 1819, three of these, with seven Americans and their wives, sailed from Boston, under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, as missionaries to the Sandwich Islands.

On the 21st March, 1820 they cast anchor in the bay where Cook first landed, and but a short distance from the spot where now stands the monument erected to his honour and memory. They supposed they would find a people still utterly given up to idolatry, and to all kinds of vile habits as before, but a surprise awaited them. They learned that the old King Kamehameha had recently died, and had left the advice that the idols should be destroyed, and religion abandoned. His son, on his accession to the throne, followed up this advice, ordered the images of the gods to be burned, introduced some of the usages and habits of the Americans who had lately gained favour with the people by honourable trading, and was apparently waiting for some further knowledge, that he might do more. A council was held during several days, as to what should be done with the missionaries who had come to make their homes with them, especially as they proposed to teach them a new religion, some fear being expressed by the king that they were but the advance company of a nation that designed to conquer them. After full consultation, however, this fear was removed, and they were permitted to land. The little band was divided and assigned to different stations, on different islands, and at once the work of Christianising the natives was commenced.

The king and the chiefs, some of whom had been priests of idolatry, were among the first pupils in the schools, setting an example to the people, which was enthusiastically followed. These schools were opened for teaching the English language, since all manifested such eagerness to learn, and through this medium as much progress was made as possible in making known the essential truths of the Bible and the new religion. But it was soon apparent that the teachers must construct a written Hawaiian language, and, accordingly, a portion of the missionaries were appointed to this task—a task as difficult as it was important and necessary. Within an almost incredibly short period, I think about three years, this task was completed, and school-books and a translation of the Scriptures were ready for use. Other missionaries soon came from America, and with them came also about as much money as the work undertaken required.

Among the first converts were several of the prominent chiefs, and

the mother of the king was the first of these to be baptised. Great and radical changes in public morals followed. The laws of the land, so far as there were any independent of the royal will, were revolutionised, and based on the principles of the Bible. The entire character of the people underwent a change, at least in outward appearance, and the influence of the missionaries became well-nigh supreme. Churches were formed in all the islands. Houses of worship were erected, great and beautiful still, as they stand almost within sight of each other—monuments of the devotion and sacrifice of those first Christians. As soon as they were opened, they were filled with worshippers. Revivals of religion, or rather the conquests of religion, were marvellous in their extent; and only by a species of circuit-riding could the ministers compass the wishes of the eager throngs who would crowd together to hear the Gospel. It was a serious question, in some cases, how to receive the great number who desired to unite with the Churches. One case has been widely published as unprecedented in missionary experience, in which Rev. Dr. Coan, of Hilo, baptised eighteen hundred in a single day, and received them into the different Churches of which he was in charge.

In view of such surprising facts, summed up in the statement, that within the period of labour of the first men who bore the tidings of salvation to these shores, the nation became civilised, and the mass of the natives became professed Christians, the question has interest—How are we to account for the change? No doubt much is to be attributed to the ability and wisdom and skill of the missionaries, who, as a body of men, have probably not been surpassed by an equal number of the army of noble missionaries who have borne the Gospel to the heathen. More, however, is to be attributed to the providentially opportune time when they landed. And more still—all, indeed, in a sense—to the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, who has never more signally exhibited His agency in connection with the truth, in turning the hearts of lost men to God. Yet, in addition, I think that not a little of the result is accounted for by the antecedent facts connected with the characteristics of the people. Their simplicity and gentleness of disposition, taken in connection with the supreme influence of their leaders, and their dissatisfaction with their idol-worship, which had become so general before those came among them bringing the Gospel, opened the way for just such a religious revolution as followed. As the king and chiefs immediately accepted the new religion, and some of them became zealous advocates and teachers of its truths, multitudes of the people felt inclined to follow their example. In neighbourhoods and families, if the parents or other prominent members were ready to believe the words of the missionaries, the inferiors and children would almost in a mass accept the faith. Then their emotional nature rendered this general inclination enthusiastic, and the Gospel became a fire that burned its way over all the islands, increasing as it advanced, and meeting little opposition, till it came to be the dominant influence in all affairs.

It was to be expected that being promoted in such a way, for the most part, and owing its success largely to the peculiarities of the people, it would not be of so solid and reliable a type as might be desired. A few years were enough to demonstrate that the idea of Christianity among the people was very imperfect, being modified by many of the notions which they retained from their former habits and sentiments. Still a large number were thorough Christians, and the churches they formed were very effective, not only in maintaining the supremacy of the Gospel in their own land, but in the creation of mission agencies by which it might be sent to other groups of islands in the Pacific. In this connection, a few words respecting the means of prosecuting both these departments of church work will not be inappropriate.

It became manifest to the Foreign Missionary Board, by which this revolution had thus far been conducted, that it could not be permanently and wisely carried on as a purely missionary work. The churches must have native pastors, as soon as these could be prepared for such service, and they must be made self-reliant and self-supporting, the missionaries acting only as overseers and advisers while they lived among the people, and no others being sent out to them from America. The Board acted upon this policy, and now the churches are supplied with pastors who have been educated in the mission schools and families, so far as they are educated. The result of the experiment may, on the whole, be regarded as satisfactory; yet that there should be many imperfections and some failures is inevitable. Neither members of the churches nor natives outside would have the respect for those from among themselves who were suddenly elevated to such a position, which had been felt for the old missionaries, who had been their spiritual leaders from the beginning. And the pastors could not be thus elevated while retaining many peculiarities that could not be eliminated by so short a training, without either becoming in many instances austere and overbearing, or unwise and injudicious. It must take time to overcome all the difficulties and evils incident to so great a change.

A proper theological training school is now maintained in Honolulu, in which an average of twelve or fifteen young men are in process of education, and from this men will go out from year to year who will become better and better qualified for pastoral service. Of course, they are not passed through a thorough general education, but having a reasonable amount of knowledge before going to the seminary, they are carefully taught theology from the Bible as a text-book, and after three years' study become relatively good students of the Word of God, and able to teach others also. Several of the native pastors are really able men, and, under the direction of the missionaries, have become leaders in ecclesiastical affairs; and although very many of the churches are small, yet (so far as I could judge from my limited observation and inquiry) they are as vigorous and have as much spirituality and influence in their neighbourhoods as the majority of like churches in our own country.

A convocation of ministers and delegates from the churches is held annually, in which all have the advantage of general conference, and by reports, discussions, and plans they strive to increase the efficiency of their varied agencies for usefulness.

Soon after churches were formed on the Hawaiian Islands, the people began to consider their duty to send the Gospel to the South Seas. The discussion had not gone far before a missionary association was formed, and several families and some young men and women volunteered to go to the southern islands, and bear the good tidings. A son of one of the first missionaries became leader of the enterprise, and with more or less success this work has ever since been maintained, yearly communication being had with the stations thus established, by which supplies of men, provisions, books, and other needed things are sent. Much good has been accomplished on the distant islands to which the mission was sent, but had no more resulted than the reflex effect of the effort upon the churches that have continued it, often with great sacrifice, the abundance of the return for all the cost could not be doubted.

Only sixty years have passed since the introduction of Christianity in the Hawaiian Islands. Some of the men and women who were the first to tell them of the Bible are still living to exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" Some of the first converts are still living to relate with thrilling interest the contrast between what they saw and felt before the new religion came, and what they see and feel under its transforming power. It has been a marvellous history, from whatever point it may be viewed, and this notice of it may well be followed by the only other item to which we have room to direct attention.

III. THE EFFECTS.—For a time, the verdict of the world was that there had been no parallel in the history of civilisation to the change that had occurred in these islands, and few attributed this change to any other causes than the religion of the Bible. Of late years, however, there has been a conflict of opinion as to the facts, and some doubt has even been expressed whether there may not have been more evil than good as the incidental, if not direct, result of the change of religion.

In regard to the state of the fact, the actual condition of civilisation and morality now found among this people, it is evident that we must not judge them by the standard of nations long settled in moral habits, but must compare what they are now with what they were sixty years ago.

The first thing that strikes one, in this point of view, is the social condition of the people. There is much simplicity—much that seems to be but little removed from a state of nature, and that may offend the taste and the sense of propriety of some accustomed to the habits of refined life; and a casual observer might even suppose that there could be no good in connection with such exhibitions. But more careful observation will reveal many things that mark a vast improvement on a state of nature. There are real homes in very many of these grass huts. There are family ties, and genuine affection, and

sacred influences, that hallow these homes. There are gentle and genial relations in society, enjoyed with many customs that a higher civilisation must reject, yet indicating great advance from savage life, and the dominant influence of moral restraints and somewhat cultivated instincts. Their domestic life, notwithstanding its imperfections, seen especially in their apprehension of the relation of the sexes in some aspects, is far above that of many other lands where Christianity has been much longer known. Indeed, the only prominent failure to meet our views of what should be found in society respects the marriage bond, and the prevalence of chastity among the females,—not with all, but with too many. On this subject it has been found very difficult by the missionaries to eradicate the feeling which heathenism everywhere fosters, that woman is inferior to man, and must be his slave; that virtue in woman is to surrender herself to the wishes of the man who for the time has most influence with her; and that it is not necessary that this man should always be one and the same. There is, however, a marked improvement in this respect, and the next generation will, no doubt, be, to a large extent, removed from the control of this heathenish sentiment. But it is pity more than blame they deserve, when we find those who give clear evidence on all other points of genuine piety, and whose hearts are apparently warm with love to God, still almost destitute of conscientious convictions on a subject touching which we should have supposed they would be most sensitive.

Another feature of interest is found in the prevalence of education, under the patronage of the Government, and supported by a general tax. Neat little schoolhouses are to be seen everywhere, and the cases are very rare in which a native under forty or fifty years of age cannot read and write. Many of them make great advancement in study, and there are several higher schools well supplied with teachers, books, and apparatus, providing the means of good education. The desire for education, and all the facilities for its attainment, have sprung directly from the example and effects of the mission schools, and must, of course, be regarded as the product of Christianity alone.

Closely connected with the general education of the people we should consider the character of their government and the ability with which it is administered. For many years the kings in succession have been well-educated men, and the executive and judicial officers, who were natives—and a portion of these are always natives—have been prepared for their duties, so that they compare favourably with the English and American officers with whom they serve. The Parliament, composed much as is that of Great Britain, has its business transacted in the Hawaiian language, and its deliberations are dignified, and often conducted with great ability. As a whole, probably, the affairs of the little kingdom are as successfully managed as those of much older nations, and certainly there is more regard for benevolent and educational and moral institutions, and for the true elevation of the people, than is found in most

civilised lands. In this result the influence of the missionaries may be clearly traced.

Similar advantage has been derived in developing the products of the country. A considerable part of the arable land is now under cultivation, though not owned for the most part by the natives, and great aid is furnished by the Government towards this development of the resources of the soil. The people, like those in all tropical countries, are naturally indolent, and not thrifty. This fact has made them poor, as a rule, but a treaty with the United States has given such a stimulus to all kinds of production, that a decided change has of late been noticed in their industrious habits. This has had a good influence, in many respects, but chiefly in securing more general comfort and thrift, in the diminution of vice, and for the first time for nearly fifty years checking the decrease of the population, and securing a slight advance.

The present religious condition of the people is not as favourable as might be hoped, when only superficially observed. The first revolution, from its very nature, and from the characteristics of the people, could hardly fail to be followed by reaction. Contact with other nations, and reading of a mixed and general nature, would naturally incline the second generation to be more independent than the first, more resolute, more disposed to question; and so constituted they would be less readily affected by the faith that made such an impression on their fathers. This is manifest as a fact; and as a consequence there is not such universal attendance upon church services, and such marked regard for religious things, as was to be noted twenty years ago. Yet, on the other hand, when one of the present generation is converted, he becomes a more staunch and reliable Christian than his father, and the control of Christian sentiments and the spirit of religion is as positive as ever, though not so peculiarly seen in acts of worship and scenes of devotion. Viewed from one direction, there has been decline. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that the history of the next fifty years will exhibit the Christianity of the islands as on a broader and more substantial basis than during these last fifty years, wonderful as these have been in their display of its effects. Christians will be more intelligent, more able to ally themselves with the world's great Christian movements, less under the power of remaining superstition and vice, and better fitted to lay the foundation for an enduring Christian civilisation than those who rushed in such flocks into the churches when they were first formed.

Enough, I think, has been said to convince most minds that a great and radical change has been effected among the Hawaiians, as respects all that usually enters into a nation's history. All Christians will rejoice to find in these changes a fresh proof of the power of those influences which accompany the Bible to transform at once the hearts of individuals and the character of nations.

JAMES EELLS.

LECHLER AND LORIMER'S "WICLIFFE."

JOHN OF WICLIFFE—for that is the proper form of the name, though not the spelling of his latest biographers—occupies a position which is altogether unique in the religious history of Christendom. The place assigned him is not unlike that which was filled by another and earlier reformer, our Lord's forerunner namely, who was the last of the prophets who had flourished under the law, and the first of the great preachers who were to arise under the Gospel. Great men are like great mountains. Mountains sometimes rise in groups, the central and tallest overtopping its fellows by but a little way, and appearing in consequence less lofty than it really is. It happens at other times that a mountain shoots up from the middle of some great plain. It stands alone and apart, it has no competitor to challenge its supremacy, its altitude is seen to full advantage, and all over the level spaces around it strikes the eye with an imposing grandeur. John the Baptist stood between two dispensations, and seen from either side he is great—the greatest among those born of women. He blends in his one person the terrors of the law with the grace of the Gospel, and in his ministry are heard at once the receding thunders of the Sinaitic economy and the first gracious accents of the gospel dispensation. Wicliffe, in like manner, stands between two great epochs. He is a mountain that shoots up from a plain. On the further side of him, if we may employ a physical figure to illustrate his moral position, is seen the level expanse of Scholasticism stretching away into the far distance, with scarce a fountain of water or a green shrub to relieve its dreary and barren monotony. On this side of him is another expanse nearly as undiversified by any object that can relieve the eye or gladden the heart; for after Wicliffe, till the sixteenth century, there arises no great teacher.

Standing thus between Scholasticism and Protestantism, Wicliffe unites in his one person both eras: he is at once a Scholastic and a Protestant, but the longer he lives he becomes less the Scholastic and more the Protestant. The tools he works with are those of Scholasticism; the acquisitions he makes are those of Protestantism. The weapon he wields is the dialectic; but the conquest which he achieves, or rather we ought to say, which he defends and fortifies with it, is the truth as made known in the Word of God. For herein lies the difference between Wicliffe and the Scholastics, that whereas the latter employed reason, and reason alone, to open to them the portals of

* John Wiclif and his English Precursors, by Professor Lechler, D.D., of the University of Leipsic; translated from the German, with additional notes, by Peter Lorimer, D.D., author of "John Knox and the Church of England," Corresponding Member of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, &c. London: Kegan Paul, & Co. 1878.

Divine science and put them in full possession of the knowledge of God and the way of salvation, Wicliffe went to the Word of God for the revelation of these great mysteries, and if he employed reason it was only in the subordinate capacity of attesting, illustrating, and defending what he had already learned from a source more directly Divine, and accepted on a higher authority. The schoolmen rested in the findings of the dialectic; they followed the tuitions of their own inner consciousness; they worked by torchlight; the stars overhead shone in vain for them; theirs was theology in the obnoxious sense of the term—a man-made theology. Wicliffe's, on the other hand, was God-made; its substance was Divine, being a revelation from God; it came from a sphere which the dialectic of the scholastic was unable to penetrate, and there was nothing human about it, save that it was a human understanding by which it was received, a human voice by which it was communicated to others, and an earthly pen that published it throughout Christendom.

And the effects produced on the world by the one theology and by the other, how different! No number of torches that man may kindle can ever dispel the night, for God has ordained that day shall attend only the coming of that sun which He has created. The scholastics studied and toiled; one busy and laborious race of schoolmen succeeded another; they filled the schools and the Church; they enjoyed all the advantages which high office, boundless applause, and rich patronage could confer; still, despite all their labour and pains, knowledge did not grow, virtue did not flourish, the light would not come, the darkness prolonged its reign, governments still continued corrupt, and the Church grew into a huge corporation of worldly offices and princely dignities in which flourished, not humility, not piety, not purity—these were the deadly heresies—but greed, ambition, pharisaic pride, and blind traditionalism. But when Wicliffe came, wearing, it is true, the mantle of the scholastic, but wielding the fan of the reformer, the eye of friend and foe at once detected his true character and office. This, said they, when his voice began to sound throughout England, this is the light; no mere artificial illumination of the schools, but the day once more, in pity to a long-benighted race, opening its portals upon the world.

Thanks to Dr. Lechler, and to his predecessors (John Lewis, in the last century, and Dr. Robert Vaughan, in the present), we now know more of the earliest and greatest of the English Reformers than his immediate successors or even his contemporaries did. We can now more correctly estimate the altitude of Wicliffe, and the mighty influence that emanated from him, as shown in the deep-seated and far-extending movement which he inaugurated. The characteristic of the two earliest biographies of Wicliffe, those of Lewis and Vaughan, is that they show us the *work* of the reformer; the characteristic of the biography now before us is, that it exhibits the *man*. It is not exclusively so, however, in either case, for obviously the work could

not be intelligently conceived of without taking account so far of the man and of the moral and spiritual forces within him, and how these came into existence, were developed into strength, and kept in intense activity. And in like manner, no portraiture or exhibition of the man could be complete, unless it extended beyond himself and brought into view that work of supremest importance in which Wicliffe lived, and in which, it may be said, he is living still. The personality explains the work, and from the work come reflex lights which bring out in bold relief the graces and powers, the patriotism and heroism that constituted the wonderful personality which Lechler brings before us—one of the most wonderful, when all things are taken into account, which any age has produced.

The distinctive, though not exclusive, theme, we say, of the great biography before us, is the *personality* of Wicliffe. To do justice to his subject, Dr. Lechler has laid every existing source of information under contribution. Fresh documentary materials, unknown to Lewis and Vaughan, have been made accessible to the Leipsic professor. The treasures of the Imperial Library of Vienna were freely opened to him. "When at the beginning of the 15th century," says Dr. Lechler, in the preface to his work, "the Wiclif spirit took so strong hold of Bohemia and Moravia, Bohemian hands were busily employed through several decades of years in multiplying copies of the books, sermons, and tracts of the *Evangelical Doctor*. Hence there are still to be found at the present day, not only in Prague itself, but also in Vienna and Paris, and even in Stockholm, MSS. of Wiclif's works of which little use has hitherto been made. In particular the Imperial Library of Vienna, owing to the secularisation of the Bohemian monasteries under Joseph II., is in possession of nearly forty volumes, which consist either entirely or chiefly of unprinted Latin works of Wiclif, of which, in some instances, not a single copy is to be found in England. By the kind mediation of the Saxon Government with the Imperial Government of Austria, I obtained from the latter the leisurely and unrestricted use of all those volumes of the collection which I required, and which were sent to me from Vienna as I needed them with the utmost liberality." By the painstaking, judicious, and we may add, the loving study and use of these materials Dr. Lechler has succeeded in limning in fuller and more life-like proportions the great Protestant of the fourteenth century than had ever been done before. It may be said that we know him better than did even his cotemporaries. And further, by a patient comparison of the earlier writings of Wicliffe with those of his last years, Dr. Lechler has been able to trace his gradual progress as a Reformer. John Wicliffe grows up before us: he increases in stature, and advances in wisdom and strength from year to year, and when mature in knowledge as in years it is then, as Dr. Lechler shows, that he gives that final and crowning touch of his work which secures that it shall abide—shall never die.

Next to the service of Dr. Lechler in point of value is that which Dr. Lorimer, of the English Presbyterian College, London, has rendered, in his beautiful, and we may say perfect translation of the Lechler-Wicliffe biography. The reader forgets that he is perusing a work written originally in German, for not the slightest obscurity, nor trace of foreign idiom remains in Dr. Lorimer's most admirable rendering. We find the author saying that he "can only congratulate himself that he has found in Professor Lorimer a translator who, along with a perfect acquaintance with German, combines so rich a knowledge of the subject, and what is not the smallest requisite for the task, so enthusiastic a love for the personality of Wicliffe." And speaking of the "additional notes" which Professor Lorimer has given, Dr. Lechler says, "With the help of mediæval records and chronicles, which have appeared since the publication of the German original (1873) he has been able sometimes to confirm, and sometimes to correct the investigations of the author." No mean testimony this to Dr. Lorimer, both as a scholar and an historical investigator.

In the light of these researches we shall now attempt to briefly sketch Wicliffe's career, first as a Patriot, and next as a Reformer; specially noting, what well deserves attention, even the manifest working of God's providence along with him; for it is precisely in his days that the thick darkness which for so many ages had shrouded the world began to draw off, and that Europe entered on the new road which it has ever since continued to pursue. Wicliffe's voice sounded the knell of a vast change, for, from the hour it was heard, systems, institutions, dynasties—in short, all that constituted the mediæval world—were shaken, and began to totter to their fall.

Referring the reader to the work itself for details respecting his birth, his education, and his college life, we take up Wicliffe at his entrance on his more public career. On Wicliffe the scholastic was grafted Wicliffe the Christian, and on Wicliffe the Christian was grafted Wicliffe the patriot. While he was occupying with quiet but fruitful diligence his chair at Oxford an occasion arose which called him forth into the public arena. To understand the nature of this occasion it is necessary to attend to the fact that at that time, or up till nearly that time, Rome had been all but unchallenged mistress in England. A century before this King John had laid his crown at the feet of the Pope Innocent III., and had received it back on condition of holding his kingdom as a fief of the Papal See, and paying an annual tribute of 1000 marks. After this the Pope might do almost anything that suited his good pleasure in England, and in sooth he allowed himself very extraordinary liberties indeed. He took the great and wealthy dioceses into his own hand, by appointing men to fill them as soon as they became vacant. The nominees of the Pope were commonly Italians or Frenchmen, and the persons promoted to these dignities, holding important or lucrative posts in their own country, which they did not choose to vacate, never

saw the faces of their English flocks. They sent their cooks or chamberlains, or other dependents in their stead. These extemporised guides, innocent for the most part of all knowledge of the English tongue, could, of course, do no duty of a religious kind, nevertheless they could draw their stipends, and send the money to their masters at Rome. A vast amount of English gold was thus carried across the sea. "England," said the men of these times, "is becoming simply an Italian glebe." Over and above, the pontiff had a hundred ingenious devices and pretexts for draining the country of its wealth. There were reservations, dispensations, and first-fruits. When a bishopric fell vacant advantage was taken of it to make four or five translations that the Pope might have an excuse for demanding a year's revenue for each of these sees. The English ecclesiastics were compelled, moreover, to receive palls and other mystic curiosities from Rome, for which an enormous price was charged. Walter Grey, of York, paid £10,000 for his pall, or, according to the present price of money, £100,000. This was a somewhat expensive trifle, but without it the archbishop could not hold councils, nor ordain clerks, nor make holy water. "The Pope's dues," people said, "are more burdensome than all the king's wars." In sooth, the popes of those days drew a richer revenue from England than its own sovereigns did. And to what profit? Learning was discouraged, the lands were falling out of tillage; they were, moreover, passing rapidly into the dead hand of the Church: the alms-houses were neglected; the churches were falling out of repair, and famines and pestilences were frequent scourges. Such was the state of England when Wicliffe was summoned to do battle with Rome.

It was the pontiff, Urban V., who began the strife. He sent all the way to London to tell Edward III. that he was but a vassal of the Papal See, and to command him to send straightway to Rome, as in duty bound, the 1000 marks, with arrears of payment, which he owed for his kingdom, which he held as a fief of Rome. With the laurels of Crecy fresh on his brow, Edward was not likely to submit himself meekly to this arrogant demand, or to be willing to purchase with money permission to wear a crown which he was so well able to defend with his sword. Assembling (May, 1366) his Parliament, the king bade it take counsel and say what answer it should return to the Pope's demand.

Curiously enough, we have the debates on this great question recorded by the pen of Wicliffe. Nay, it has been conjectured, and Dr. Lechler admits that there is great probability in the conjecture, that Wicliffe himself was a member of this Parliament. Be this as it may, it cannot be doubted that the spirit which inspired the Parliament, and moulded the answer which it sent to Urban V., which was a flat refusal, was that of Wicliffe. The proof of this is that he was singled out immediately thereafter, and had the gauntlet thrown down to him by an anonymous theological doctor, as the man at whose door mainly lay the guilt of resisting the Papal claims. And now Wicliffe

stepped forth *in propria persona* as the champion of his country's independence. In grappling with his masked opponent in defence of his sovereign's crown and England's freedom, he rests his argument first, on the natural rights of men; second, on the laws of the realm of England; and third, on the precepts of Holy Writ. "Already," he says, "a third and more of England is in the hands of the Pope." "There cannot," he argues, "be two temporal sovereigns in the same country; either Edward is king, or Urban is king. We make our choice; we accept Edward of England, we refuse Urban of Rome." Thus, guided by Wicliffe, England, at this early hour, vindicated the dignity of her crown and the independence of her realm against the Papal supremacy. It was a greater victory than that of Creedy. No act of resistance to Rome did England ever perform which was not followed by an increase of her power and glory. The soul of the nation bounded upwards, and the powers of the Vatican, alarmed at the spirit they had evoked, retreated from the position they had taken up.

But the spiritual services which Wicliffe rendered to England and Christendom were greater than even those of a political nature which, on the occasion of which we have just made mention, and at subsequent periods when he served on diplomatic missions abroad, he was able to achieve. He is a great personality from the first moment of his appearance, but it is as he nears the close of life that his character opens out into its full grandeur. The study of the Bible, the striking providential occurrences of his time, and the persecution of the hierarchy, made him search more narrowly into the foundation of things; his insight was deepened, his views widened; the whole question of the Church of Rome underwent a revolution in his judgment, and now the patriot became the reformer. We question whether the history of the world furnishes an equal, certainly not a greater example of independence of mind, of magnanimity of soul, of heroism of faith, than is seen in the calm and comprehensive judgment to which Wicliffe now came on the great question of Christendom. Despite his own early education; despite the almost unbroken and unanimous verdict of the past eight centuries; despite the long array of venerable councils, learned doctors, and infallible popes which were seen frowning upon him; and despite living opinion around him, he dared believe and dared avow that the power of the keys was an imposture, that transubstantiation was a blasphemous falsehood, that priestly pardons were cheats, that the Papacy had "its root in the Evil One," and that above councils and above tradition the Word of God was the sole supreme authority, and he demanded a reformation of Church and State on these foundation lines. He held that the dominion which the popes usurped over princes, and their assumption of divine attributes stamped this line of hierarchs as the long-predicted Antichrist; he pleaded for a separation between things secular and spiritual; he condemned the celibacy of the clergy, and that sensuous-

ness of worship which is not unfrequently found in alliance with sensuality of life. In opposition to the then universal idea that the clergy were the Church, he taught that the Church was the communion of the whole body of the elect, that bishop and presbyter were on a level, that the preaching of the Word was the most important and honourable function in the Church, that Christ was the one Mediator and Saviour, and that He alone was the Head and Monarch of His Church. Here is the body and substance of a great reformation—in fact, the reformation of the sixteenth century presented to us in the fourteenth. It came before the world was able to receive it, and before the rediscovery of the sacred tongues, the art of printing, and other literary and mechanical inventions which acted a subordinate, but most important part in the propagation of these same principles two centuries afterwards; but none the less are we called to admire the amazing power of vision accorded to this man, and the equally amazing courage he displayed in accepting and acting upon his conclusions. Wicliffe came out of the darkness at a leap, as it were. Who of all the mighty men who have lived since can boast a feat of spiritual prowess like that which God's spirit enabled Wicliffe to perform? We who follow a track which has been worn deep by the feet of innumerable confessors and witnesses seldom think how little the strength we feel is our own, and how much we are indebted to others. But Wicliffe had no external helps; footprints he could see none; if great men, such as Augustine, had passed that way before, it was long ages ago, and their traces were all but obliterated, and for centuries and centuries the crowd had been going in the opposite direction. Wicliffe had to find the path for himself; and, submitting his mind implicitly to the teaching of God's Spirit through the Word, he found it, and with courageous faith went forward in it.

It was now the year 1378, and only six years of life remained to Wicliffe. Great plans and pregnant movements, destined to continue after the reformer had gone to his grave, and to yield their fruits to other countries besides England, were crowded into these last closing years. Prominent among these plans was the itinerant preaching mission. It is probable that this was set on foot some years previous to that at which we are now arrived, 1378; and it is also probable that the centre whence these missionaries were sent forth was not Lutterworth, but Oxford. A university town was more likely to supply qualified men than a rural parish, and was, moreover, greatly preferable as the headquarters whence the mission could be superintended. England was a barren field, Wicliffe would sow it with the seed of the Word; it was a land all dark, he would kindle in it the torch of Holy Scripture. He charged those he sent forth to preach with simplicity, with clearness, with unction; above all, he besought them to eschew the legendary tales in which the monks dealt, to let alone the dialectic and hair-splitting of which the schoolmen were so vain, and to publish

to the people the facts and doctrines of the Bible. The Gospel was the bread of souls; that bread must they deal out to the hungry. The Wicliffe itinerants included both priests and laymen. "These men went forth," says Dr. Lechler, "in long garments of coarse red woollen cloth, barefoot and staff in hand, in order to represent themselves as pilgrims, and their wayfaring as a kind of pilgrimage: their coarse woollen dress being a symbol of their poverty and toil ('poor priests'). Thus they wandered from village to village, from town to town, and from county to county, without stop or rest, preaching, teaching, warning, wherever they could find willing hearers; sometimes in church or chapel, wherever any such stood open for prayer or quiet devotion; sometimes in the churchyard when they found the church itself closed; and sometimes in the public street or market-place."

A yet grander design did Wicliffe now meditate, and a yet greater boon did he confer on England. He had sent forth itinerants to preach the truths of the Bible, he now conceived the idea of sending forth the Bible itself. "The fact is certain," says Dr. Lechler, "that Wicliffe was the first to conceive the great idea, then entirely new, of a translation of the *whole* Bible, and of the Bible for the use of the whole people." Wicliffe associated others with himself in this great undertaking, for the task exceeded the powers of any one man, and especially one at Wicliffe's time of life; and how much of the Bible was personally translated by Wicliffe himself we shall now never know; but it matters not, the work was done; his was the great idea, his was the enthusiastic zeal that carried that idea into execution; he rested not till the Word of God had been placed in the hands of the people of England in their mother-tongue. The translation was made from the Latin of the Vulgate, for Wicliffe was ignorant of Greek, and it is believed to have been finished in 1382, and then came the task of the transcribers. Hundreds of busy scribes were set to work to multiply copies, and spread them over England. Such was the sublime and glorious task of Wicliffe's evening. As his sun was setting, this other sun rose upon his native land, never to set. Let Wicliffe's personal ministry close when it might, here was a mightier preacher come to take his place, whom the hierarchy could not cast into a dungeon, or bind to a stake, and who would continue to traverse England, and preach trumpet-tongued through all coming generations. "Wicliffe's translation of the Bible," says our biographer, "marks an epoch in the development of the English language almost as much as Luther's translation does in the history of the German tongue. The Luther Bible opens the period of the new high German; Wicliffe's Bible stands at the head of the middle English. It is usual indeed to represent not Wicliffe, but Chaucer—the father of English poetry—as the first representative of the middle English literature. But later investigators of the history of languages—such as Marsh, Koch, and others—rightly recognise Wicliffe's Bible prose as the earliest classic middle English."

It has hitherto been generally believed that Wicliffe's war with the monks was begun at a comparatively early period of his life; but Lechler can find no solid foundation for this opinion, and is disposed to discredit it. No record of such a contest exists till towards the close of the reformer's life, which makes it probable that it was not till then that this quarrel fell out. It is natural to suppose that as Wicliffe's spiritual views deepened, especially his views on transubstantiation, and the anti-Christianism of the Papacy, the hostility of the monks was specially awakened. Both Church and State were now preparing to persecute him, and a violent death would speedily have been his fate had not God withdrawn him beyond the reach of his enemies, and hid him in the grave. He died in 1384.

Let us pause and reflect on what Wicliffe has been to England. He is the father and founder of its liberties. Among the monarchs, statesmen, warriors, and reformers of England there is not one so great as John Wicliffe. This may appear to be spoken rashly, it may seem an over-estimate of the man; but a consideration of the five centuries of history which have since elapsed, in which all the lines of political, social, and spiritual progress are seen running up to and taking their rise in Wicliffe, will show that this judgment is a sober one. The battle which the English barons of Runnymede waged against the temporal supremacy of the Pope, and which Wicliffe and the Parliament afterward fought conjointly, would never have resulted in the permanent emancipation of their country. For so long as the ghostly power of the Pope is exercised in a kingdom it is a delusion to suppose that there his temporal power will not also be exercised, let governments fulminate as they may. But Wicliffe the Reformer did what Wicliffe the Patriot and the English barons combined never could do, he dissolved the ghostly power of the Pope, the assumption even to pardon or retain men's sins, on which his throne and kingdom are founded: he set free the conscience by the truths of the Word of God; men were delivered from the terror which had kept them in chains, and the doors of the house of bondage, which no power less mighty could have opened, were unlocked for England's escape. This was the beginning of English liberty.

The student of the history of those days, if he intelligently examine, will find that the central figure is John Wicliffe. All the shiftings and overturnings of his age are for him. No sooner does he make his appearance preaching a reformation than Providence begins to prepare the way for that reformation. A world immovable till then is straightway put in motion, and continues without stop or pause to progress beyond the point where for centuries it had rested. It was now that the famous schism fell out which inflicted such a loss of prestige upon the papacy. The world beheld two rival popes anathematising each other as veritable Lucifers, and enlightened by the scandal, it said that both were right in the testimony each bore to the other. The schism was followed by the war betwixt the councils and

the pope, which drew down additional loss of prestige upon the popedom. There followed the deposition of several pontiffs on the ground of notorious immorality and flagrant crimes, and so the papal glories continued to wane. There came next the wars between England and France, which were no sooner ended than the wars of the Roses broke out in England. These cruel campaigns wasted and all but extinguished the barons of both countries, and allowed the thrones of France and England to rise up as an equipoise to the authority of the papal chair, which for some time previously had been the predominating power in Europe; and thus the popedom was still further shorn of influence. Then followed greater events still—events fraught with vast beneficence to the world, but with dire disaster to the papacy. Constantinople fell; the treasures of antiquity were scattered over the West; the sacred tongues were rediscovered; the art of printing was invented; and the channels for the diffusion of truth multiplied a hundredfold. Wicliffe's life is the starting-point of all these revolutions. Till we come to him all is stagnancy; the centuries revolve, but the world stands still; after him all is progress—progress upward for the world, but downward for the papacy, whose power is seen henceforward to be in continual flux, its glory in perpetual wane. After Wicliffe, what solitary worker on the side of the right need permit his heart to wax faint, or his hands to hang down? He has the God of Jacob on his side, and a single touch of His omnipotent hand can set the world in motion. Nor need he fear "though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea, and the waters thereof roar and be troubled." These convulsions are with him, not against him. If the mountains of worldly dominion be cast down, it is that the chariot of truth may go onward.

J. A. WYLIE.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

IS Christianity a member of a series, one among many forms of religion, a stage in the development of the human mind, and nothing more? Such is one of the most engrossing and pressing questions to which the apologist of our day is called upon to address himself.

On the one hand, the opponents of Christianity, rejecting the idea of the miraculous and the supernatural, denying both the possibility and the necessity of a Divine revelation, see in Christianity nothing more than an attempt to solve moral problems, to pander to a morbidly superstitious sentiment, or to concentrate power in the hands of a few individuals, who are thus enabled to advance personal or corporate

ambition by the assumed influence of religious terrorism. The highest aim they ascribe to Christianity is that of a controlling, perhaps an elevating, moral power ; its highest efficacy they recognise in its undoubted influence as a moral discipline. Were this all that it professed to do, and all that it actually effected, they would probably be found on its side, advocates of its utility, if not of its truth, looking upon it much as Cicero and other educated Romans of the later Republic regarded the popular superstitions, as a convenient instrument in the hands of the State and of the wise for restraining and directing those who were not amenable to more refined or more elevating influences. But they know that Christianity claims to be more than this, that it appeals to spiritual knowledge of spiritual facts, that it involves the recognition of beings higher than man, of a life beyond the grave, of a law above the natural, of duties having reference to that which is above and beyond the seen and the temporal. These their philosophy rejects and despises ; a rigid Pantheism sees in all the variety of nature the self-manifestation of one underlying substance, of one primeval force, of which the self-consciousness of man is the last and highest expression ; or an inexorable Positivism, rejecting even the primeval force of Pantheism, reduces man to nature, and nature to a succession rather than a development—a succession of which we may know the ratios and the proportions, the facts and their order, but nothing more. Both alike involve the moral life of man in the chains of an inevitable necessity, where sin is the issue and expression of finiteness, demanding no repentance, and seeking no redemption.

In another age this view of human life and destiny might have remained the melancholy and unenviable possession of the few, the sad prerogative of the initiated ; but in these days of widespread information and popular influence, it becomes essential that the truth on this important matter should be disseminated, that men should not be biassed in their judgments by false prepossessions, that fear should be removed, and all should see "*quantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*" Then again, all tendencies to hierarchical assumption of authority must be counteracted, social questions must be kept free from the disturbing element of religious considerations, the priesthood must be dethroned, and a scientific conclave erected in its place. Hence the attack not only upon the doctrinal system, but upon the ethical value of Christianity. Hence the desire to prove its moral influence altogether superfluous, or to recognise it as exercising a merely temporary jurisdiction which it must ultimately resign in favour of the mightier and more genuine power of scientific knowledge.

Thus, not to speak of the more prominent representatives of the philosophies alluded to, even a man of thoughtful and candid mind like Jouffroy speaks of humanity as at present emerging from the stage of Christian to that of philosophic culture. He does not take leave of the old rule without an expression of respect ; he acknowledges the benefits,

especially of moral training, conferred upon man by Christianity, but holds that its moral force is at length exhausted, that its influence is no longer necessary, that an enlightened philosophy must be the future guide of man. But other writers are not content with quietly setting Christianity aside; they must perforce demonstrate that, morally at least, it was no real advance upon the teaching that preceded it. They triumphantly adduce parallels from ancient ethical systems to the precepts contained in its authoritative records. They trace the origin and development of the religious sentiment from its earliest forms of nature-worship to its most perfect products, and maintain that there is a strict and discernible chain of development running through them all, that the lowest contained the germ of the highest, a germ which in its growth required and received the aid of no extraneous or supernatural impulse.

Mr. Buckle maintains, in a well-known passage, that absolutely no advance in the elements of moral teaching has been made for thousands of years, that the great outlines and main precepts of morality have been always the same, and especially, that the New Testament contains no maxims which had not been previously enunciated. This position is much the same as that taken up by the Deistical writers of the last century; but at the present day a further effort is made—namely, to trace the genealogy not only of elements, but of systems, to show that Christianity not only embodied precepts previously taught, but that as a *whole* it had a natural origin, was in fact the offspring of earlier religions and philosophies.

But it is not only that our opponents assume this attitude; some also among the advocates or professed believers in Christianity tell us that we must now number among the sciences a science of religion, in respect of which Christianity must range itself along with Brahmanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, as one of the phenomena to be analysed, classified, and explained. "In the Science of Religion," says Max Müller, "we can decline no comparisons, nor claim any immunities for Christianity, as little as the missionary can when wrestling with the subtle Brahman, or the fanatical Mussulman, or the plain-speaking Zulu." * "In the history of the world, our religion, like our own language, is but one out of many, and in order to understand fully the position of Christianity in the history of the world, and its true place among the religions of mankind, we must compare it, not with Judaism only, but with the religious aspirations of the whole world, with all, in fact, that Christianity came either to destroy or to fulfil."† He admits that to some "the Science of Religion will bring many a rude shock," ‡ and that "the feeling in the minds of all people against any attempt to treat their own religion as a member of a class is, in one sense, perfectly justified." § He holds, however, that comparison alone "can possibly teach us what is peculiar to Christianity,

* "Chips from a German Workshop," Preface, vol. i. p. xxi.

† *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

‡ Max Müller, p. xxvii.

§ *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

and what has secured to it that pre-eminent position which now it holds in spite of all obloquy. The gain will be greater than the loss, if loss there be, which I, at least, shall never admit."* Further consideration appears to have modified the last-stated conviction, for in his "Introduction to the Science of Religion," published five years later, he says (p. 10): "I do not say that the Science of Religion is all gain. No, it entails losses, and losses of many things which we hold dear. But this I will say, that, as far as my humble judgment goes, it does not entail the loss of anything that is essential to true religion, and that if we strike the balance honestly, the gain is immeasurably greater than the loss." Again (p. 37): "It would be fatal for any religion to claim an exceptional treatment, most of all for Christianity. . . . Unless our religion has ceased to be what it was, its defenders should not shrink from this new trial of strength, but should encourage rather than depreciate the study of comparative theology."

On the other hand, Christianity puts forward undeniable claims to be considered unique. As in its early days it would accept no compromise with heathenism, and claimed for its Founder, not a niche in the Roman pantheon, but the exclusive devotion of the heart and life, so now it sets itself over against every other cultus, every other morality, every other system of the universe, as the only Divine and authoritative revelation, the only principle of human regeneration, the only guide of human life. It claims to be unique in respect of its origin; it is no mere human creation or conception; its Founder, its Centre, its Head is the only begotten Son who was in the bosom of the Father, and has declared *Him* unto men. It claims to be unique in respect of its perfection; it is God's answer to human prayers; it is the way chosen by One who has a perfect knowledge of humanity, its needs and its capacities, to redeem it from the power of evil, and to elevate it to its highest possible perfection.

Can these opposing views be reconciled, and if so, how? What concessions, if any, must be made to the former, in what sense must the latter be understood? What position must the apologist assume that he may not deny the authority of science within her legitimate sphere, above all, that he may prove false to no truth, and unjust to no truth-seeker, while, at the same time, he may be able to reassure those who fear that, through such investigations, the evidences of their faith may be undermined, and their clearly held convictions be reduced to uncertainty and confusion?

A religious need is universally acknowledged. Attempts have been made, but with very doubtful success, to show that there are nations without the consciousness of such a need. It may be admitted that there have been ages and races in which that sense of guilt, of a dissonance in life, of a violation of the law written in the heart, which has been the most general and most powerful motive impelling to religious worship and observance, has either been altogether wanting, or has been very faintly

* Max Müller, p. xxviii.

marked. The earliest age of Greece, for example, was fresh and joyous, betraying little or no consciousness of a broken harmony. But everywhere man has a feeling of weakness, if not of imperfection. His short span of life, his great capacities joined to the ignorance and powerlessness which he cannot but perceive in himself, strike him with a vague, undefined feeling compounded of awe and terror, hope and fear, which is the foundation of the religious sentiment. He is a riddle to himself; on his nature and destiny he is ever meditating more or less deeply, and according to some conception, formed with regard to these great questions, he feels that his life must be directed. Religion, no less than art or morals, has its root in a distinct sphere of man's spiritual nature, and in a distinct range of the circumstances which constitute his experience in the world. As there is a moral faculty in man, and a department of human life in which it has its legitimate application; as there is in man an æsthetic principle, which never lies dormant, but leaves its traces in the building, sculpture, painting, and poetry of all nations; so there is in man a consciousness of religious need, a spiritual capacity, which peoples the dark void around him with forms of being having some determinate relation to himself, some shaping power over his conduct and his destinies. Moral perceptions may still be exercised within the sphere of daily life, its relations and its duties; artistic faculties find everywhere around them both the means by which they may be trained and developed, and the materials upon which they may be employed; but from the religious part of man's nature its objects are removed; if there ever was a communion, there is now a schism, between the eye and the light which it was adapted to perceive, between the spirit of man and the spiritual world to which it is akin. But is the eye to remain for ever shut because the light is withdrawn? Does it not rather peer out upon the darkness, and conjure up in the vacancy forms and images of its own creation? The religious need must take a definite shape, the spiritual faculty cannot remain unused. Questions cannot be set aside unanswered, doubts unsolved, actions unguided. If no answer be supplied from without, an answer must and will be framed; the spirit will itself devise that which, while it is not given from elsewhere, it yet finds itself unable to do without. The void must be peopled, and as no outlines are discerned through the gloom, the mind projects upon it its own conceptions. Now the truth, if such there be, must also satisfy this religious need, it must be an answer as definite as those which man has himself conjectured. There is thus a something given to which the self-evolved and the revealed, the uncertain and the true, must be alike adapted; what wonder, then, if there should be in many points a strong resemblance between them? So far as the religious need has become definite, there is no inherent improbability that the imagined and the real answers to its queries will not be altogether dissimilar. It is, however, the prerogative of the truth that it both further defines and fully satisfies the need.

But again, it was necessary that the human race should be educated in order to receive and benefit fully by the revelation of God. Man can only comprehend thoughts or ideas of which he already possesses the constituent elements. These must therefore be introduced into his experience before they can be combined into new forms, and made to convey a new and higher truth. Hence the necessity for the progressive and historical character of revelation. Judaism and Heathenism were both in their way preparations for Christianity. The outward sanctity and purification which the former prescribed were the means of generating in the minds of men the notion of inward purity and holiness; while the latter contained elements of form and culture which contributed to the reception and development of Christian truth. In communicating His revelation to man God may have made, and certainly did make, use of pre-existing elements, of ideas already familiar to those whom He addressed. It may have been that for some points of difficulty man had already fashioned true answers, or such at least as were not far from the truth. These the revelation would confirm by a declaration of their conformity with truth, a happy guess would be turned into certainty, while error would be eliminated, and misapprehension corrected. It was not necessary that everything should be done from the beginning; we are not to expect to find in a Divine revelation everything entirely new and strange. There may have been, as Mr. Buckle says, excellent moral precepts propounded and acted on before the introduction of Christianity; was it necessary, therefore, that Christianity should ignore and pass them by, or that it should supersede everything which had already commended itself to the conscience of mankind? Rather would we expect it to acknowledge and embody such precepts, adding to them an authority which they had not previously possessed. There may, in like manner, have been conceptions which, to some extent, interpreted and satisfied the religious need; it was not necessary that these should be discarded, but that they should be made the foundation and the means of further enlightenment; nor, as Max Müller says, should "any doctrine seem the less true or the less precious, because it was seen not only by Moses or Christ, but likewise by Buddha or Laotse."*

To this extent, therefore, Christianity may be regarded as a member of a series. It takes its place as one among many schemes for meeting the spiritual wants of man, and its authority and perfection may be expected, not to be compromised, but to be established by a comparison of it with others. It contains many elements which are and must be common to all religions. Like man himself who, with regard to his body, belongs to the kingdom of nature, and exhibits many analogies to the lower creation, but with respect to his soul transcends both, Christianity in its outward form may be subject to a science of religion, but with regard to its individuality, spiritual contents and power, it rises superior to all the phenomena which form the subject-matter of that

* "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. xxvii.

science. As psychology maintains a position apart from, yet in relation to, comparative physiology, so Christian theology is independent of, while it does not necessarily ignore, the science of comparative religion. Nay, this science may have in various ways a most marked and beneficial effect upon the scientific cultivation of theology; as a discipline in toleration and candour, its study may have a much needed and most desirable influence upon theologians; while yet it has no right to dictate the limits or undermine the foundations of individual faith.

It is evident that the coincidence between Christianity and other forms of religious belief will be more frequent on the ethical than on the purely theological side, since in the one case we have the facts of human nature and human life as a *point d'appui*, to which we have nothing corresponding in the other. In the relation between the theology and ethics of any religious system, therefore, we have a fair and tolerably conclusive test to which its claims to be considered a Divine revelation may be subjected. If we are entitled to ask that a divinely-revealed system should be ethically perfect, this applies no less to the moral effect of its doctrines than to the tendency of its precepts. Every ethical code has rested upon alleged facts of one kind or another. They may have been facts of human nature,—the supreme good, the end in itself; or they may have been facts of a theological character,—views of God and of human destiny. These could not fail to exert an influence upon the moral teaching of the religions with which they were incorporated, or, in cases where there was no professed moral teaching, upon the moral practice of their votaries. But in almost all ethnic religions the theology and the ethics were drawn from different sources. They were accordingly not very congruous or coherent. Many systems were ethically good; they contained precepts which, whether drawn from shrewd observation of life, from the voice of a conscience not wholly perverted, or still more frequently from the elevated tone of individual characters, embodied a high morality, and often breathed a pure spiritual fervour. Their theology, on the other hand, had its root in the speculative or imaginative intellect, the elements supplied by which were woven into myth and symbol. Hence it often happened that the theology of a system was less pure morally than its ethics proper, and that its ethics were thus less pure than they might otherwise have been. Thus in Homer there is depicted the stage of what has been termed “unconscious morality;” the age was comparatively innocent, but the gods that were worshipped were anything but models of propriety, and the rapid deterioration of the Greeks in the times succeeding this may be ascribed in great measure to the introduction of the worship of Dionysius. In fact, the Polytheism of the Greeks and Romans had the most debasing influence on the masses of the people. In India the noblest systems were Pantheistic or Atheistic—God was everything or nothing; the terror of man was perpetual transmigration—his highest aim absorption into the Deity or annihilation. These systems inculcated morality, but made it

only secondary, and very often unimportant. Buddhism was the most vigorous scheme of necessity and nihilism that the mind of man ever conceived, and though it perhaps almost alone of ancient religions taught the inseparable connection of religion and morality, its metaphysics afforded to morality neither the requisite sanction nor support. "One of the first facts," says Mr. Lecky, "that must strike a student who examines the ethical teaching of the ancient civilisations is how imperfectly that teaching was represented, and how feebly it was influenced, by the popular creed. The moral ideals had at no time been sought in the actions of the gods, and long before the triumph of Christianity, Polytheism had ceased to have any great influence upon the more cultivated intellects of mankind."* This connection between morality and religion, which we see already so far severed in the Vedas, it was one of the great works of Christianity to restore. One of the greatest proofs of its Divine origin lies just in its having undertaken that task, and in the way in which it has been carried out.

For it is conceivable that a perfect or almost perfect ethical system might be *discovered*, since we have always, as has been remarked, the facts of human nature and life as our starting-point. If, therefore, the theology to which it is attached is to issue in pure and good ethical consequences, the theology must be formed from, and adapted to, the system of ethics. Drawn from any other human source it cannot be depended upon to yield sound moral consequences; if both ethics and theology, therefore, are to have a merely human origin, the ethics must be the basis of the theology, and not *vice versa*. But this can only be if the moral system is already fully developed, for a perfect theology is tested by the ethical results, even the most remote, which follow from it. But Christian ethics is not thus fully developed in all directions, while it has been found to contain the germ of every lofty moral conception which men have yet attained. And Christian theology is seen to issue in moral rules which could not have been contemplated by its founders upon any human theory of its origin. Hence from the ethical perfection of Christianity, from its character as a system capable of indefinite development and application, and from the close connection maintained in it between ethics and theology, we conclude that the theology is a revealed one, not invented or discovered, and that Christianity as a system of doctrines and precepts is one which stands by itself as that wherein is made known the very mind of God for the guidance of man.

The inference thus drawn from specific points of comparison with other religions cannot but be confirmed by a more extended consideration of Christianity as a religious system, and as the spiritual lever of the world. Whether we look at the character of Christ in its unapproachable elevation of purity and loveliness, or at the manifestation of God's love in His incarnation and atoning death; whether we look at the influence which these have exerted in moulding the world's history

* "History of European Morals," i. p. 169.

through eighteen centuries, or at the power they have shown themselves to possess of sustaining and guiding the believer's life, and of ministering to his comfort and peace,—we feel we are in the presence of that which is unique because it is alone Divine. Christianity is the only system which has dared to probe to the bottom of the wound of which humanity is so sadly conscious, because it alone was provided with a perfect remedy. It can present the ideal at which men should aim without detraction, because it alone can hold out a prospect of its realisation. It can exhibit the extent to which men fall short of this ideal in all its awfulness, because it alone bridges the fatal gulf. In other religions we have man seeking God—feeling after Him if haply he might find Him; here only is God seeking man in the fulness and freeness of redeeming love.

But why, it may be asked, assume any apologetic attitude at all in reference to such a science as that of comparative religion? Should we not gladly welcome whatever truth its investigations may bring to light, and be willing to part with any delusion, however long and fondly cherished, which these investigations may expose? "He must be a man of little faith," says Max Müller, "who would fear to subject his own religion to the same critical tests to which the historian subjects all other religions. We need not surely crave a tender or merciful treatment for that faith which we hold to be the only true one."* But though we do not fear for the truth, we may for the individual souls of men. *That* may come out all the clearer and more firmly established from the trial, while *these* have been cast into doubt and perplexity from which they in vain seek a way of escape. It is to point out to such the compatibility of faith with freedom, of intelligent confidence with absolute loyalty to truth, and a position of perfect candour, that this paper has been written. Christianity is at once an historical and a spiritual religion; it appeals at once to history and to conscience, and fears the verdict of neither.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

QUIET PEOPLE.

BY ONE WHO VALUES THEM.

"ENTHUSIASTIC PEOPLE" are all very well, as *The Catholic Presbyterian* for March abundantly showed; but it does not follow that quiet people are to be put by them either in the shade or on the shelf. Providence has settled that question beyond dispute. For every person who has got the temperament of enthusiasm, as the term is generally understood, there are at least ten who have not. God has use for the ten as well as for the one. Society seems to be constituted like the atmosphere. The air we breathe has only about one part of oxygen to four of nitrogen, though the oxygen is the vital element, and

* "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. xxi.

the nitrogen dilutes the oxygen. So society—and the remark is applicable to Christian society—has, perhaps, one enthusiast for ten quiet people. Would you alter the proportion, and make it ten enthusiasts for one quiet man? We apprehend the effect would be similar to that which would follow if the atmosphere had four parts oxygen to one of nitrogen. A dear old friend of ours, the late Professor George Wilson, who was a species of enthusiast and quiet man in one, in that very interesting and admirable volume called "*Religio Chemicæ*," has a curious supposition, in which he fancies an angel, thoroughly instructed in anatomy, botany, physiology, and chemistry, to have been commissioned to construct an atmosphere for this world, after everything else was made. The angel-philosopher, by dint of sheer reasoning, comes to the conclusion that there is but one gas that can fulfil the conditions that have to be met in an atmosphere suited for this world—namely, oxygen. He accordingly makes his atmosphere of oxygen, pure and simple. But no sooner is it made than he finds it will never do. The actions of the body go on too fast, a fever heat is gendered, and life is spent in a rush to the grave. An ordinary candle sparkles like an electric light; the fire on the hearth is like Nebuchadnezzar's furnace; and when a house happens to take fire, the flames spread till, like Chicago, you have a city in ashes. Undiluted oxygen will not do, and there must be a considerably large amount of nitrogen, and a little spice of azote mixed with it, to make it work comfortably and well. So with Christian society. If all were enthusiasts, we should be in a fever. We should know nothing of repose, and little of meditation. We should find many a piece of hard work too irksome, as a race-horse finds it too irksome to drag a load of sand. We should be poorly off for hewers of wood and drawers of water. After all, the Divine order is best—a sprinkling of enthusiasts, like the officers in a regiment, and the rank and file quiet, but not useless men.

Quiet, but not useless—that must be always marked. For the quiet men who, in their own way, are fulfilling their function, are not like the Highlander of the story who was one of a party carrying a coffin at a funeral on a sultry day, and on his comrade remarking that it was a heavy lift, replied, "Man, do you lift? I lean." There are quiet men and quiet men; quiet men who lift, and quiet men who lean. With the quiet men who lean—the dead weight of the Christian Church—the men that do nothing for the kingdom of God—we have here nothing to do. We cannot away with them—they rouse our indignation. It is quiet men that work that we value and wish to encourage. Men and women that feel the constraining power of the love of Christ, and steadily try to serve Him; but have no impetuosity of nature, and especially no power of pouring themselves out in a red-hot stream upon others, and setting them on fire. What they do is done with a calm, steady pressure, with a measured regularity and uniformity; they keep pegging away; they are like the rain-drop that at last hollows the stone. We

don't deny that often their movements might be a little faster, and we quite agree with a lady friend of ours who has a great inclination, she says, when she hears a preacher of that class, to drive a pin into him and quicken his delivery. But even without the pin, when such men fulfil their proper function—which is to fill up in detail what enthusiasts do in outline—they are performing valuable work, useful for the edification of the body of Christ.

But let us come to particulars. And here, in trying to call up the kinds of men that are both quiet and useful, we do not see where we can begin better than with "the Friends,"—yes, *our* friends, the Quakers. For all will admit that if any class are entitled to be called quiet people, it is they. Occasionally a man on fire, like John Bright, may start up from their ranks with a style and manner of eloquence fitted, it might be supposed, to carry everything before him. But Mr. Bright is an obvious exception to the staid and quiet ways of the Quakers. In English society, Quakerism is a phenomenon. It is a silent testimony to the duty of self-control, and of compassion, meekness, patience. This is more felt now than it used to be. People do not make fun of Quakers as they once did. Few though they are in number, they represent a real moral power in the community. They are a restraint on the warlike impetuosity of the many. There is a class of good works which comes naturally to them, and to which they draw intuitively. No wise and good man would be easy, in any great moral question, to have the Quakers all against him.

But what gives them this peculiar influence? It is their truthfulness and reality, on the one hand, and their quiet ways, on the other. From their infancy they are trained to be real, and to restrain every impetuous and disorderly feeling. For the most part, they answer to the discipline. And the quiet, self-possessed ways they acquire give them a real power. How did Mrs. Fry come to get such influence with the vilest female convicts in Newgate? From her quiet gentleness, her unruffled temper, her inexhaustible loving-kindness. It is not merely their disregard of conventionalities that enables Quakers to go where others are not allowed, and to say what others would not dare to utter. There is something in the perfect composure of their manner that disarms opposition and helps them along. We remember no more remarkable case of this than that of Stephen Grellet. Though not a Quaker by birth, he became a very thorough one when through Quaker influence he was converted to the Lord. A Frenchman by birth, an American by adoption, a cosmopolitan in spirit, he comes in very suitably for a place in this journal. Among the many remarkable things in his life, none was more striking than the access he obtained, as he made his evangelistic tours over Europe, to all sorts of men and all sorts of places. An ultra-Protestant, he held religious meetings in nunneries, and preached the Gospel even in Roman Catholic sanctuaries. He had Greek patriarchs and Romish bishops among his intimate acquaintances. Though he

never could be induced to uncover his head in the presence of royalty, he obtained friendly interviews with nearly all the crowned heads of Europe. He obtained on one occasion a private interview with the old pope, Pius VII., the pope whom Napoleon imprisoned (though on this occasion an official in attendance cleverly whipped off his hat); he tried with all his might to get at the old man's conscience, and when, by ordinary appeals, he could get nothing more from him than an amiable assent, he at last made a dead set on him, urging him by every solemn consideration to accept Christ as his own Saviour, and seek his portion in the joys of his salvation. The old pope must have had a strange feeling, but politeness did not forsake him; he rose, took the Quaker by the hand, and expressed his hope that God would accompany and bless him where ever he went. But never, we suppose, was any man able to come so near to a pope's soul and conscience. In Naples, Grellet performed a spiritual feat not less memorable. Visiting the Foundling Hospital, as he passed the chapel door, some four hundred girls were engaged in devotions to the Virgin. The priests and nuns about him asked him to go in and see them. He agreed on condition that if he felt moved in the spirit to speak to the assembled girls, the principal priest would interpret for him. After a hymn had been sung, Grellet exposed the idolatrous and unprofitable nature of their service, and then spoke of Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinners, the way, the truth, the life, —without whom no man could come to the Father. The priest faithfully interpreted the sermon in Italian. Many of the hearers were moved. "Thus," said Mr. Grellet, "did my blessed Master enable His poor servant, in a popish church, assisted by priests, to bear testimony to His blessed truth, and against a superstitious worship that those poor girls were offering to a piece of carved wood. . . . After occasions of this sort, I sometimes marvel that they do not lay their hands on me; but here, on the contrary, they parted from me in tenderness, and with expressions of their satisfaction with my visit."

Some quiet people have a wonderful knack of personal influence. Though possessing very mediocre intellectual gifts, they have a way of making an impression on people much more able than themselves. This must be due to some art they have of inspiring confidence, or some chord which they move by a simple and natural way of putting things. It is in this way that many a sensible woman of ordinary gifts acquires a very wholesome power over a much more talented husband. But oftener women of this class get an influence over children. Many a mother moves her family by a powerful influence in the way of good who would perhaps be thought unable to influence any one. Teachers sometimes have the gift in a remarkable degree, particularly female teachers. There are Sunday schools where systematically the worst boys are placed in the hands of some gentle female teacher, as the one of all others most likely to be able to control them. We have seen a school of several hundred boys drilled by a mere slip of a girl, the whole school

obeying every movement of her hand, and every sound of her voice, as if they were soldiers under a commander-in-chief. We have been present in a Reformatory, where some forty lads, sentenced for their crimes, showed the profoundest respect for the instructions and orders of the young woman who was teaching them, although there was not one of them but might have doubled her up, and put a rapid end to her, if he had been so inclined. Some one who has time and ability ought to write an essay on this topic, for there is here a great mine of undeveloped power in women, a great means of controlling and removing many of the disorders of the world.

For ourselves, we must hasten on. We come to the quiet people that are gifted with a great plodding power. In this connection there rises to our mind the instance of Alexander Cruden, who conferred so inestimable a boon on this country, more than a century ago, by his Concordance to the Bible. It may be doubtful whether a man who was thrice confined in a lunatic asylum ought to be classed among quiet men. But surely he was essentially a man of that type, albeit, after the harsh manner of the age, he was "chained, handcuffed, strait-waistcoated, and imprisoned," for nine weeks and six days at Bethnal Green. Cruden's, however, is one of the cases that show that quiet men and enthusiastic men are not incompatible—there may be a union of both qualities in the same individual. There must have been enthusiasm in the temperament that conceived and executed the Concordance—although not the enthusiasm that kindles others or inspires them with its own quality. There is an enthusiasm of plod, as well as an enthusiasm of fire. The plodding power brought into play day after day and year after year in the execution of that work must have been wonderful. After all, it was not greater perhaps than has been brought to bear by many a Christian philanthropist in humble spheres of life—by men and women who have never been absent a night for scores of years from some most uninviting Sunday school; walking, it may be, long distances, like a worthy Yorkshireman of whom we remember to have read that if the distance which he had walked during his life to and from a small hamlet where he kept a school, had been put together, it would have been equal to the circumference of the globe.

Zachary Macaulay, the father of Lord Macaulay, was another of those quiet philanthropists who have done wonders by their plodding power. Macaulay was not a genius. He had neither imagination nor any sense of the ludicrous. His friend, Sir James Stephen, speaks of his countenance as monotonous, his gestures awkward, his figure ungraceful, and his temper phlegmatic. But he was no ordinary man. Both Sir James Stephen and his grandson, Mr. Trevelyan, ascribe his greatness to his religion—his power of faith, which made him a hero, a patriot, a dear friend, and an honoured parent. His grandson's tribute is highly honouring to him—"The secret of his character and his actions lay in perfect humility and an absolute faith. Events did not discompose him,

because they were sent by One who best knew His own purposes. He was not fretted by the folly of others, or irritated by their hostility, because he regarded the worst and the humblest of mankind as objects, equally with himself, of the Divine love and care. . . . He worked strenuously and unceasingly, never amusing himself from year's end to year's end, and shrinking from any public praise or recognition as from an unlawful gratification, because he was firmly persuaded that when all had been accomplished and endured he was yet but an unprofitable servant, who had done that which it was his duty to do." Yet Zachary Macaulay was one of the heroes that abolished slavery in British dominions, often working nine hours a-day in the cause. His information was almost boundless; and all that he was or had was as unflinchingly laid on the altar as if he had been told by God that his life had been given him on purpose that he might work for the good of the negro.

One of the most interesting and estimable classes of quiet people are the brothers and sisters that seem "born for adversity," and that are ever ready, and most warmly sympathetic, in every time of need. They are the maiden aunts and other good souls that are always welcome among their friends in dark days, and are never averse to the ministry of mercy. What generous and self-denying things they sometimes do! I think of my dear friend Miss Gentle, who was all but ruined by her brother's insolvency, but quickly went and gave the few remaining fragments of her fortune to the gardener, who had also been a creditor, because she thought it better that she should be inconvenienced than he. Have I not known her dine on "sowens" and milk, that she might give a comfortable dinner to her poor neighbour, Betty Thomson? And as for her raiment, nobody can tell how it is that she seems so bare, except that when she ought to get comfortable things for herself, she hands them over to some one else, to whom, like Sir Philip Sidney, she says, "Thy necessity is greater than mine." If ever there was a pure-hearted Christian, it is she; if ever woman remembered the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive. And then she has such a beautiful composure of spirit, is ever so calm and still and gentle, and seems so habitually to live at the gate of heaven. I have known few people that answered so well to the lines of Goldsmith—

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swell from the vale, and midway leaves the storm;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

We have another class of quiet people to whom we must not fail to pay honour, even in this brief sketch. We call them the "dew-makers"—dew-distillers might have been a more suitable term etymologically, but we do not care for the associations with which that word is connected. Their function is to drop dew on fevered heads and agitated

hearts, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another. We think of the gentle William Cowper as one of these dew-makers. He was so in every respect—his life, letters, and verses were one great manufactory of dew. What greater contrast could be found to the heated and noisy rush of existence in great towns than that still, tranquil life of his at Olney? The touch of madness was in a sense essential to that life. It would have been too womanly if there had not been something to account for its seclusion, its gentleness, its innocence. Cowper has been a great power in the nineteenth century. Who would have thought it? Who would have believed, to see the quiet old gentleman feeding his pet hares in the seclusion of a Midland county, walking in the little garden, or writing easy letters to his cousin, in which the harmless gossip of the family was varied by remarks on the progress of his *Iliad*, that he would be a great power in the busy, fussy, frantically active and pushing nineteenth century? Well, but he was a great dropper of dew, and the more that men are fevered by the rush and battle of life, the more need have they for such quiet dew-makers. We wonder what they think of Cowper in America. If it should turn out that in the headquarters of go-a-headism, the gentle bard of Olney has a considerable band of appreciative readers, we should say that his triumph was complete. Go-a-headism was represented by Cowper in the person of John Gilpin, Esquire. See, said Cowper, in that immortal epic, if you *will* rush, what comes of rushing! Would you not do better to take things coolly rather than go at a helter-skelter pace, and turn the world upside down? But this was Cowper's *reductio ad absurdum*. How his poems as a whole, and some of his hymns in particular, have served to calm the heated current of life all through this nineteenth century, we need not say. The world, even, and still more the Church, have been the better for William Cowper in the past, and we trust they will continue to be so for many days to come.

Another of our dew-makers is Archbishop Leighton. A quiet man, even to timidity and weakness, he, too, for two centuries, has exercised no slight influence on the Christian life of his posterity. We can afford, in *The Catholic Presbyterian*, to be just to Leighton, though he forsook his brethren and went with the prelatists. Poor man, the step brought him little satisfaction. He was seldom known to smile, it is said, and never to laugh. Little did he covet the place of bishop or archbishop, and little did he enjoy it when it was pressed upon him. It seemed only to make him more humble and more pensive than ever. But Leighton's commentary on 1st Peter has been one of the most useful devotional books that Scotland has produced. The very tone of pensive longing that runs through it is highly appropriate in one who feels himself a pilgrim and a stranger on the earth. And it serves to bring into brighter relief the radiance and the glory of the celestial city, as it shines on the pilgrim from afar. The pensiveness of Leighton has something in it akin to the pensiveness of Christ. It is not the pensive-

ness of one who despises this life, or who is sick of it, or who regards all his surroundings as evil ; but of one who cannot forget the sin that is in the world, and his own connection with it. All through his writings the thought is found—Nothing, O man, but God can fill the void of thy soul !

Of one other dew-maker we must at least give the name—John Keble. From every leaf and sprig of the garland with which he surrounds the Christian year, dew falls with soft, refreshing influence. No man ever delighted more to portray the gentle aspects and influences of Christianity. No man had his senses better exercised to discern whatever in the voices and aspects of nature corresponds to these benign emanations. No man ever clothed in fairer apparel the ministering spirits who go about the world, trying to make it better and happier.

“ There are in this loud striving tide
Of human care and crime,
With whom the melodies abide
Of the everlasting chime.
Who carry music in their heart
Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.”

No man ever put into better verse the blessed impression left by the dew-maker on the hearts he has cheered—

“ Whom by the softest step and gentlest tone,
Enfeebled spirits own,
And love to raise the languid eye,
When, like an angel's wing, they feel him floating by.”

Pity, indeed, that a spirit so full of appreciation of what was gentle and loving in the Gospel, was so little in tune with its wide catholic embrace ! Keble ought not to have been a narrow high churchman. But in vain we search for perfection in this world. Seldom do we find a pot of ointment without the dead fly. We must be content to take good where we find it, trying to leave the evil behind. Quiet men may have conspicuous faults, but they have rendered services never to be forgotten. They have not wanted the enthusiasm of deep feeling, subdued, indeed, in outward form, but working powerfully beneath the surface, becoming transmuted into holy force, and often bringing earth into contact with heaven.

GENERAL SURVEY.

THE COMING COUNCIL AT PHILADELPHIA.

It is time that attention were being turned in earnest to the next meeting of the General Presbyterian Council which is to be held at Philadelphia, in September, 1880. The meeting at Edinburgh in 1877, interesting though it was and by no means unsuccessful, might almost have been called a fortuitous concourse of atoms, and the wonder is that it presented the degree of unity and organisation which it did. The next Council, availing itself of the experience of the past, will be better organised, and its manifold resources turned to more account, for in this department, at all events, "evolution" must be the order of the day. In all successful administration, unity of action is indispensable, and the central power must evidently be in the American Committee. But there are many ways in which that Committee may be helped by friends in all parts of the world, and the sooner this help begins to be given the better. As one of the purposes for which this journal was begun was to serve as a medium of communication between the various branches of the Alliance, we look forward to the occupation of some part of our space by this subject for months to come.

The death of Dr. Beadle of Philadelphia, convener of the committee on business and arrangements for next meeting of Council, was a great loss. We have every reason to believe, however, that under his successor, the arrangements will be carried on with vigour and success. There is a fact in the late Dr. Beadle's connection with the history of *The Catholic Presbyterian* which deserves to be recorded. Last autumn, three of those with whom it lay to decide whether such a journal should be established, met in the house of one of their number in London. It happened that Dr. Beadle, then on a visit to England, was in the house at the time. There were many difficulties, and the old question "to be, or not to be" hung in the balance. Dr. Beadle gave a decided opinion that such a Journal would be welcomed by very many in the United States, and his opinion went far to decide the question of its existence. After the career of the journal began, it seemed doubtful at first whether his judgment as to the American welcome was to prove correct or not. Happily that doubt is now removed. *The Catholic Presbyterian* receives from month to month a more and more cordial welcome in America, and it is hardly utopian to cherish the hope that ere long its American circulation will not be far distanced by that in Great Britain. If America had failed us, no amount of circulation elsewhere would have enabled our Journal to fulfil its end.

The two great matters of importance for next Council are, the appointment of suitable delegates, and the selection of the best topics. We venture to offer our opinion that the latter should take precedence of the former. In the selection of topics the American Committee will to some extent be aided by the proceedings of the last Council. For example, the topics on which that Council appointed committees will manifestly claim a preference. We find there were committees on creeds and confessions, on statistics, on the desiderata of Presbyterian history, on foreign mission work, and on the Continent of Europe. Some of these subjects are of the highest interest and importance, and we know the committees have not

been idle. The committee on creeds and confessions, though limited to matters of fact and history, will have an extremely interesting report. On Presbyterian history, foreign missions, and the Continent of Europe there will be not a little to be said. The committee on the Continent will be able, we trust, to report something substantial as done for increasing stipends of the Waldensian pastors. There is another topic to which we would venture to ask especial attention. In 1881, the year after the Council, will occur the centenary of the Edict of Toleration in Bohemia. In some suitable shape that event ought to be commemorated, and the salutations of the Alliance conveyed to the representatives of the sorely-persecuted Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia. The Waldenses and Bohemians must be well represented at the Philadelphia meeting.

With regard to other topics, it seems to us that the more important questions of the day, in their bearing on the Presbyterian Churches, will naturally have a preference, and it will be fair, and likewise desirable, to give a prominent place to questions that may be of special use to the American Churches. At the Edinburgh Council, one obvious mistake was made—there was not a sufficiency of time, or a due division of the time, for the representatives of distant Churches to tell of their work and position at home. This arose from the unexpectedly large number of foreign delegates that appeared at the eleventh hour. Every effort has been made in the Appendix to the Proceedings of the Edinburgh Council to remedy the error, by giving as full reports as could be obtained of the various Churches.

With regard to the appointment of delegates, it has appeared to friends in Great Britain that, for various reasons, it would be unwise, as a general rule, to have delegates named this year, although in some cases this may be necessary. But it is obviously of importance that the committees on the Council in the various British and Continental Churches should be keeping the matter in view, and making such arrangements as may be competent, in order that next year the Supreme Courts may be able to make appointments that will not only be suitable, but practically available. Colonial Churches must act more promptly. In those cases where the American Committee may ask some gentleman to prepare a paper on any point with which he is specially conversant, it cannot be doubted that his name will be included in the delegates to be appointed by his Church. We are well aware that it is necessary to allow a considerable time to members who are to prepare papers, and the American Committee must be prepared for some failing them at the eleventh hour, and thereafter, like the Edinburgh Committee, for being blamed for not having recognised their Churches! Little bits of friction must be expected, but a copious shower of the dew of Hermon has a wonderful effect in smoothing them down.

Our American brethren will have a considerable amount of hard work in making all ready for the Philadelphia meeting. But in looking back along the history of this movement they will find not a little encouragement. There can be no doubt that Presbyterianism stands to-day before the world with a more imposing front and higher claims to regard than it did three years ago. There can be no doubt that a new spirit of brotherhood, a new sense of mutual interest and sympathy, has been infused. It has been made apparent, too, that in whatever directions progress is to be contemplated, the Churches are animated by strong regard to the great fundamentals of Christianity, and to the person of its great Author. We think, too, that the various Churches are contemplating both their home work and their foreign work with more earnestness, and with a deeper sense of responsibility. If our American brethren can carry forward the movement on such lines as these, they will help, with God's blessing, to realise an inestimable benefit.

We shall be happy to make the pages of *The Catholic Presbyterian* available for ventilating hints from various quarters, subject to the understanding that to print a letter is not to back the writer, and that such lucubrations must be subject to the rule—*valeat quantum*,—take them for what they are worth.

ENGLAND.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD.

OUR Synod meets in April, earlier than its big sisters in Scotland and Ireland. Its recent session in London presents an opportunity for bringing under the notice of Presbyterians in other countries a few facts, with which it is reasonable they should be acquainted, respecting our position in England.

It is not because England is a country of exceptional importance that we think our position ought to possess interest in the eyes of Presbyterians elsewhere; neither is it because we constitute a body diminutive and unimportant. But it is because both these things happen to be true at the same time. We are actually one of the feeblest, newest, and least of the Presbyterian sisterhood; yet we have to represent our Church in a land where it is of all lands most important that Presbytery should be well and powerfully represented. We hold the centre, geographical, financial, historical, of the Anglo-Saxon world; and we hold it, so far as our polity is concerned, with the weakest of garrisons. Surely we are not egotistical or prejudiced if we think our stronger neighbours are all concerned in helping us to hold it well.

Among our next neighbours, the progress of our Church has for years back attracted attention. Quite lately, it has evoked criticism. A few years ago, statements were freely made regarding the favourable prospects and rapid spread of Presbytery in England which, if not exaggerated, probably awakened exaggerated anticipations. More recently, it has been said that, after all, our prosperity was largely delusive. The truth is, that for years previous to the recent union, the (then) Presbyterian Church in England, as well as the portion of the United Presbyterian Church situated south of the Tweed, had both made advances, which, if not great, were relatively considerable. Take one fact in evidence. Of 267 congregations, now composing our entire strength, no fewer than 158 are creations since 1849. No Church, in an old and wealthy country, can double itself in twenty years, save at a heavy cost. All our new charges are in cities or large towns. They mean expensive buildings. They mean nuclei of congregations struggling into strength. They mean picked ministers, who must be fairly paid, and paid by the sacrifices of a few. They mean rows of sittings waiting for expected occupants in the future, and debts which the present cannot liquidate. At this rate, a little body soon exhausts its resources. A good deal of generous help, no doubt, came from Scottish friends; from the Free Church to its younger sister the English Presbyterian; from the United Presbyterian centre, to its English limb. Both, however, have been declining sources of aid. With the union, the latter became a vanishing quantity. It is thus apparent that internal reasons, no less than the arrest laid on national prosperity about the same moment, dictated to the new united Church a pause of caution, and the concentration of its efforts for a while on consolidating what had been gained.

It is easy now to understand why the Synod in April had next to no positive additions to reckon at its roll-call. But has any way been made in the task of consolidation? Let us see. The Sustentation Fund has again paid to pastors receiving the equal dividend, an income of £200. This has been done with rather less borrowing than in former years; and there does seem to be a fair prospect that this new method of ministerial support will, ere long, surmount the difficulties which threatened its infancy, and reach the point at which it can work easily and securely. Nothing "consolidates" a Church more than a healthy, steady, and fairly adequate provision for her ministry. Then, the fund available for the extension of the Church again exhibits a balance on the right side; notwithstanding that some 18,000 new sittings have been added to our total accommodation for worshippers. Further, stimulated by the special Thanksgiving Fund, and the way it has been worked, the liberality of the people has succeeded in a bad year in paying off a great deal of old debt. Quite as important is it to notice, finally, that the parts which became one only three years ago appear to

have settled down to their united work without collision or even friction; and that a serious experiment is being made to improve the organisation by which in future church business will have to be conducted.

But when all is said, the true test of enduring solidity in a body like ours must be when the membership of the young congregations, as yet skeletons, goes on steadily filling up. An examination of the facts, copious and minute, presented to the late Synod warrant this as a general reply: They are advancing, though less rapidly than could be wished; and the causes for a somewhat slow increase deserve, and have begun to receive, a searching inquiry. Our rate of growth in membership during each of the last two years has averaged all over the Church only $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. There are rural districts, however, with a diminishing population where growth is impossible. There are localities where, through exceptional causes, it is extremely difficult. Discounting those, the rate in presbyteries where progress may be counted "possible" rises to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Could this be maintained all over, it would mean the doubling of the Church in twenty-two years, instead of in thirty (which would be the result of the existing rate of advance).

Various causes, no doubt, contribute to keep down our gains, such as our quasi-foreign aspect and the Scotticisms in our pulpit. More prominent than either is "lapsing" from the Church of their fathers on the part of immigrant Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland. On this point, elaborate and alarming statistics were submitted to the Synod. It would be a grave error to set down all these "lapses" to discreditable causes, such as the abandonment of religious habits altogether, or a desire to win the social advantages of conformity. Very many of them must be due simply to the physical impossibility of finding a Presbyterian Church within an accessible distance of the new home—a source of feebleness this due to our feebleness itself, and diminishing constantly with the multiplication of our churches. But whatever be the hindrances to a more rapid ingathering, both of immigrants and of new members, it may pass for a sign of grace to find the Church alive to the evil, and desirous to trace it to its roots.

Other points of less catholic interest or of a more routine character must be here suppressed. It may be appropriate to say in closing that as this English branch of Presbytery needs, so it sincerely seeks, the moral and material support of the sister Churches around it. With the United Presbyterian Church it held last year the first (so called) "federal" council, attended by representatives of the two bodies to deliberate on matters of common concern. Into equally close bonds it has invited two other allied Churches—the Free and the Irish—to enter. With the Synod which in England represents the Established Church of Scotland, it exchanges friendly messages and hopes for ultimate union. To the Welsh Presbyterians it has this Synod begun to draw nearer, in search of points at which co-operation may prove practicable. While one of the most important steps which the late Synod took—the choice of Dr. Francis L. Patton, of Chicago, to fill the new Barbour Chair in our divinity hall—is a direct appeal to the great American Church to spare one of its foremost and most trusted men to do, not English work, but Christian work in England. What the issue of this somewhat bold proposal may be, remains while we write uncertain. The proposal itself is a proof that whether her neighbours agree with her or not, the Presbyterian Church of England believes that the work she has to do, and her success in doing it, for the defence and exposition of reformed doctrine as well as for the exhibition of reformed Church polity, is worth some sacrifice on the part of her powerful neighbours, even though they chance to dwell so remote as the United States.

J. O. D.

SCOTLAND.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD.

A SOMEWHAT smaller number of members (723) than for some years past assembled in the expectation of a quiet transaction of principally domestic business. With one exception this expectation was realised, the firm presidency of Dr. George

Jeffrey conducting to order and despatch. The new premises being not yet ready, the place of meeting was again the Free Assembly Hall, and the meeting extended over seven days.

The Synod met under the shadow of a great bereavement. The father of the Church, the venerable Principal Harper, after a professorate of thirty-one years, in the course of which he had the honour of training the great majority of the present ministers of the Church, died shortly after the close of the Hall session, his last message to his students being, "Follow Christ." In Mr. David Anderson, also, who might be described as the father of the eldership of the Church, the Synod has lost one who, for nearly half-a-century, has taken a foremost part in developing the liberality of the Church, and was, at the time of his death, chairman of the Mission Board.

A most pleasing incident was the unanimous election, in a crowded and enthusiastic house, of the Rev. Dr. Cairns as Principal of the Theological Hall.

For the last two years, the Church has been engaged in a revision of its subordinate standards, and the declaratory statement regarding this was, after a luminous and masterly speech from Dr. Cairns, passed in its finally amended form with almost entire unanimity into an Act. It consists of seven articles, the practical effect of which is to re-issue the Westminster Confession, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as an exhibition of the sense in which the Church understands the Holy Scriptures, but with certain explanations which guard those accepting these standards from being thereby committed to any interpretation of them inconsistent with the free offer of the Gospel, the proper responsibility of man, or the freedom of God to extend His grace to those without the pale of the ordinary means. The voluntary principle is also clearly affirmed in it, and liberty of opinion recognised on subordinate matters of interpretation, such as the "six days" in the Mosaic account of the creation. After coming to this satisfactory conclusion, the Synod showed its desire for rest, by decisively rejecting a motion which pointed toward the drawing up of a shorter Creed by negotiation with other Presbyterian Churches, or, failing that, by the Synod itself.

At this point emerged the one painful episode of the Synod. Mr. Macrae, of Gourrock, brought forward a motion designed to secure freedom of belief on the doctrine of everlasting punishment. The motion fell to the ground for want of a seconder, and Mr. Macrae himself fell under the formal censure of the Court for refusing to withdraw an opprobrious epithet. A committee was appointed to confer with him respecting his views, and their report led to the appointment of a committee with presbyterial powers to deal further with him, and proceed judicially, if necessary. Mr. Macrae refused to admit that the Standards teach anything but what may be called the materialistic conception of torment of soul and body in hell, but he appears to raise a deeper question than that of the right interpretation of the Standards. The speeches of Dr. Calderwood, Dr. Ker, and Dr. Thomson cannot but have a wholesome influence in setting before the public mind the proper mode of viewing this important question, which is being pressed on its attention from various quarters.

Practical difficulties having arisen in one congregation in respect of the law forbidding marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the matter was sent down to presbyteries, and a majority of these reported in favour of relaxation. But, after a lengthened debate, only 46 members voted in favour of immediate relaxation of Church law, 168 voting for the more cautious expedient of a large committee to consider the whole subject and report. The delay is probably favourable to a conservative attitude on this question.

The subject of Disestablishment received prominent attention at a largely-attended evening sederunt, local and temporary incidents importing into the discussion more of the political element than is customary, or desirable.

It was perhaps unfortunate that the only report which brings social questions before the Synod—that on temperance and public morals—was delayed until the close of the Synod, when it was disposed of in a thin house. But there is unques-

tionably a continual advance in the sentiment and practice of the Church towards personal abstinence. The report dealt also with the "bearing of current popular literature on public morals," and commended the colportage operations of the Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland and kindred institutions to the support of the Church.

Turning now to the home operations of the Church, it is gratifying to have to note an increase of 10 congregations and 1500 members in the course of the year, as well as a marked increase in Sabbath-school attendance and in ministers' classes. The commercial distress has naturally affected the income of the Church for various objects, but not so seriously as to hamper any of its operations; while, by re-arranging some of its presbyteries, forwarding a scheme to provide for the widows and orphans of ministers and missionaries, and various minor measures, the Synod is endeavouring to secure a more efficient development of its resources. The principal figures are as follows:—There are 544 congregations, with 175,066 members, and an attendance at Sabbath school and advanced classes of 108,354. The income for congregational purposes was £239,754; for missionary and benevolent purposes, £99,319; for synodical and miscellaneous purposes, £28,314,—making a total of £367,388.

A large amount of time was occupied with matters relating to Foreign Missions. At the public missionary meeting on Wednesday evening an enthusiastic audience packed the immense hall to the ceiling, and the addresses of Mr. Hope Waddell, Dr. Shoolbred, and Mr. Fleming Stevenson are worthy of the occasion. In the Synod proper, an elaborate report on the missionary operations of the Church was considered, and the whole missionary organisation of the Church, from its centre in the Mission Board out to its furthest circumference, was, as far as possible, amended. A system of periodical visitation of the mission-fields was approved, with a view principally to stimulating and encouraging missionaries and mission churches. The question, whether mission presbyteries, having final jurisdiction in the government of native Christians and having a separate formula, should be constituent parts of the Synod, was felt to raise a constitutional question too grave to be settled by an attenuated Synod, and was accordingly delayed for a year.

Only one deputy was present from the Continent, M. Dardier, from the Evangelical Society of Geneva. The lack was probably due to the Synod meeting this year on the first Monday of May, a week earlier than usual, and inconveniently early for deputies desiring to be present also at the Assemblies of the Free and Established Churches. The lack of deputies was so far compensated by the receipt of interesting letters from other Continental Churches and societies. A cordial reception was also given to Professor Spence, of Fisk University, United States. To the regret of the Synod, the Foreign Correspondence Committee had to report their failure to arrange for a suitable deputation to visit the Presbyterian Churches of America this year, and in view of the meeting of the General Presbyterian Council in Philadelphia in the autumn of next year, it was felt to be doubtful whether an independent deputation could be sent over to the meetings of the Presbyterian Assemblies in May.

In regard to sister Churches, it should be noted that a large deputation was received from the English Presbyterian Church, the members of it taking their seats as corresponding members of Synod in virtue of the federal relationship subsisting between the two Churches. A letter from the Irish General Assembly, proposing interchange of historical documents, elicited a cordial response. The General Assembly of the Established Church has made overtures bearing on the subject of union both to the Free Church Assembly and to the United Presbyterian Synod. These overtures were met on the part of the Synod by a frank but courteous reply, which pointed out how the United Presbyterian Church could not, on the ground of principle, agree to share the trust reposed in the Established Church by the State, but at the same time indicated various matters, such as church extension and foreign missions, in which cordial co-operation might be effected with great advantage to both Churches and to the cause of Christ.

J. R.

GERMANY.

PROFESSOR CHRISTLIEB ON THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

IN a short pamphlet by Professor Christlieb,* we have the privilege, not often granted, of seeing the merits of a great question as they present themselves to an intelligent and friendly stranger. The result, in the present case, is hardly satisfactory to us. The pamphlet, though brief, exposes most effectually the iniquity of the opium traffic—all the more, because of the entire absence of anything like exaggeration. In his introductory note Professor Christlieb touches the very heart of the question. It is not simply the iniquity of the traffic which strikes him, but the glaring inconsistency that the most Christian nation, which has spent so much time and strength in the cause of missions, should at the same time countenance a policy so hurtful; thus building up with her right hand what she has destroyed with her left. In the first chapter Professor Christlieb gives a brief summary of the history of the opium traffic; and it is not too much to say that the mere recital is itself a condemnation. It was in 1773 that opium was first introduced into China by force of arms. So great was the dislike felt to it, that at first no market could be obtained. In 1795, its introduction was prohibited by the Chinese Government; and again in 1800, under penalty of banishment or even death. Spite of this, the traffic was forced on by the East India Company, till, after a third ineffectual prohibition in 1834, war was declared by the Chinese Government. By the peace of Nankin (1842), the traffic was declared illicit; but no attempt was made on the part of England to put a stop to it. A second war was the consequence, followed by the peace of Tien-tsin (1860). By this treaty the traffic was legalised, and opium admitted under a light duty. Again and again the Chinese Government has endeavoured to raise the duty; but every such proposal has been set aside by England. What the present opinion of the Chinese is may be gathered from a placard affixed to one of the foreign houses in Shanghai:—"How absurd that these strangers come to Shanghai, and think to gain the people by their preaching. Twenty years ago they might have succeeded, but now opium, the real cause of all the evil, has perverted the hearts of the people."

The use of opium, according to Professor Christlieb, is not analogous to that of tobacco. In the latter case, the fumes are received into the mouth only, and immediately rejected. In the former case, they are drawn into the *lungs* and retained as long as possible, so as to *penetrate the blood*. In this way they produce a pleasant excitement, which, however, gradually undermines the system, and induces mental as well as physical imbecility. It is hardly necessary to follow Professor Christlieb in his minute analysis of the effect of this traffic. Two only we may notice. One is its connection with the famines which periodically ravage Eastern lands. In those parts of India where the opium-plant is grown, the cultivation of cereals is neglected. Districts densely populated are thus left destitute of support for their inhabitants; and a prolonged deficiency of rain produces a famine such as has lately raged. The same holds good of China. How well may the sufferers in those lands look for help to us, who are thus *indirectly* the cause of their sufferings. The second evil result is the check which is given to missionary enterprise. It is needless to point out how disheartening it must be to the missionary, nobly sacrificing his all to preach the Gospel, to have it thrown in his teeth that he cannot really wish well to those whom his countrymen are ruining! The Foreign Minister of China wrote thus in 1869: "Our Government knows that the traffic has long been condemned by the English people, and that honourable merchants will have no connection with it; but our officers and the people generally are not so well informed, and constantly affirm that England carries on the opium traffic because it wishes the ruin of China."

There is another point of grave importance to which Professor Christlieb alludes. The opium-plant is now cultivated in China as well as in India, with such success

* La Commerce Indo-Britannique de l'Opium.

that the dealers prefer the home-grown to the foreign article. There is thus the prospect of the trade being taken out of our hands, and our revenues forcibly decreased, while we shall want the honour—if honour it can be called—of sacrificing our ill-gotten gains. In his closing chapter Professor Christlieb asks what is to be done. Financially the problem is hard enough to solve. But where moral principles are at stake, he urges, financial considerations should have little weight. We need hardly say we agree with him.

J. B. G.

UNITED STATES.

CURRENT NOTES.

IN our public and social life, a few matters have lately been attracting more than ordinary attention. Some of these, indeed, have become so notorious that possibly you have had references to them in your newspapers. One of these—the presence of the Chinese in our land—has been occasioning some not very creditable discussion. There are to-day about 135,000 of these people throughout the whole country, one-half being on the Pacific slope, where their labour has been invaluable. But for them, indeed, neither railway nor other public improvement had been possible. The low rate of wages for which *at first*, they willingly worked, enabled the different contractors to fulfil their contracts, while their persevering labour has enriched the State in many other ways, so that John Chinaman has made himself a most useful member of the community. The Chinese, however, are debarred from citizenship in the United States because of their colour; hence the politician has no use for them, and therefore, no regard for their interests or rights. The low class of labourers, like Kearney, the representative of the most worthless and most dangerous of our mixed population, finds the Chinese able to live on less money than they can, and by their numbers, preventing wages going higher than their present rate. These people have thus their own reason for wishing the Chinese out of the land—that is, out of California. A Bill was recently actually passed by Congress to restrict the immigration of the Chinese to the number of fifteen persons in each ship. Politicians of both parties in California supported the measure, hoping thus to win a local popularity. Our President, however, by vetoing the Bill, has saved us from the discredit that mere politicians would cheerfully have brought on us for their selfish purposes, and in a little time the matter will have been forgotten.

I refer to the matter mainly for the purpose of showing that while politicians may often be ready to throw both right and honour to the winds, the checks of our political system often avail to save us from many serious blunders. The veto given on this Chinese question was doubly honourable to the President because he need not have moved in the matter. By the law the President need not express any opinion on a Bill for ten days after it has reached him, and if the constitutional date for the adjournment of Congress is reached before these ten days have expired, the Bill falls to the ground of itself. Mr. Hayes, however, with admirable courage, put his foot down on a Bill which might have been the thin end of a wedge for hereafter excluding other nationalities.

Another great topic of talk is the financial failure of Dr. Purcell, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cincinnati, for the immense sum of four millions of dollars. It seems that for the last thirty or forty years the archbishop has been receiving from his parishioners their savings on deposit, paying them the usual rate of interest. This money has been laid out by him in building chapels, school-houses, a splendid cathedral, and generally in defraying the expenses of his diocese. So long as money kept coming in he could meet his liabilities for interest, but when, owing to the hard times, the deposits fell off, then the pinch came, and the archbishop has failed, involving some three thousand creditors in ruin. All the chapels and other buildings erected with the money thus received have been made over to an official assignee, with very poor prospects for the unfortunate depositors.

The affair has caused a great sensation, the newspapers of every shade of opinion

condemning the archbishop. Some of the thoroughgoing Romish organs, however, have threatened those depositors who are seeking back their money, with the possibilities of faring very badly in the future. What sacrilege, they say, to ask back from the Lord money that had been lent to Him, and laid out in works of such merit as the building of chapels and educating of priests! The sum involved is so large that nothing has yet been done in the way of assisting the archbishop out of his difficulty, though possibly before long, we shall find some settling of the claims by putting so many *masses* to the credit of the plundered parishioners, and with which these may have to be content. Had a Protestant—lay or clerical—of any denomination been thus guilty of breach of trust, we should have heard a good deal more about this aspect of his conduct, but the perpetrator being a priest and an archbishop at that, we hear only of “financial mismanagement,” and “unwise expenditure.” One can hardly help asking, in view of the disclosure, is it customary for Romish priests to make themselves the bankers of their people; and, if so, are the settlements always perfectly satisfactory to the depositor, or, in case of his death, to his relatives? Archbishop Purcell complains that a large part of his reported indebtedness represents not money received by him, but interest overdue, and seems to think that he should hardly be held responsible for this. But the answer is obvious; he took the money on the same terms as a bank would have done, and those who trusted him are entitled to look for that interest from him which they would have received from any of the ordinary banks. How easy must it be for the Church of Rome to obtain possession of the money of individuals, and then at death-bed times to wipe out the indebtedness? We had a singular case that suggests a very different thought a little while ago, in another locality. A very popular priest had obtained large sums of money from his parishioners for general benevolent purposes. Of these sums he kept a faithful account, so that his books were all right. One day the priest was thrown out of his carriage, and killed on the spot. On examining his papers, a will was found acknowledging his indebtedness to all these parties, and directing his executors to repay them. This will, however, was *not* signed, so that it had no legal effect, while another will was found in which he provided very liberally for his relatives, besides giving certain sums to the Church. *This will was signed*, and, though disputed, was sustained by the courts as valid. It thus happened that the unfortunate creditors lost their money, though getting the comfort of knowing that the priest had prepared a will which, *if* signed, would have given them what they owed, while the relatives, through the forethought of the priest in signing the will which bequeathed them the money, became very wealthy! A happy and original plan of giving satisfaction all round.

OPEN COUNCIL AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BIBLE REVISION.

It is not surprising that so important an interest as that of the revival of our authorised translation of the Old and New Testament should evoke discussion, by parties anxiously looking for reports of progress. We are of those who think that with advantage, the public—part of it, at least—might have been before this time taken into the confidence of the revising committees, and certain of the proposed amendments on our received version submitted prospectively to the eye of outsiders. No doubt there is a homely proverb (*Scottice*) that “bairns and fuyles should not see a work half finished.” But in a matter of universal concern, light should be welcomed from all quarters. Great delay in affording opportunity for interchange of views may cause the loss of valuable suggestions, or, in the case—already, alas! realised—of the withdrawal from this earthly scene of some of those whose work is challenged, may, if not restrain the freedom of criticism,

lessen its worth, as no longer an interchange of thought with living respondents, best entitled to render a reason for accepting or declining proffered corrections.

However, we are aware of some difficulties which have appeared to the respected parties employed about this work, to justify their quiet method of procedure.

Here, our more immediate object is to canvass the suggestion of a contributor to these pages who makes the bold proposal that "servant," in the apostolic rules for domestic duty, should be written "slave." He blames King James's translators for inserting the other word, or rather retaining it, for the older versions—the work of wise heads long before their day—had already done the wise thing, of preferring the generic term to one descriptive of but a species of service (see servant, or "servante," in the Bishops', Geneva, Coverdale, and Wycliffe Bibles). Our brother would restore the baser word to its lost honours. We have no fear that the revisers will accept his proposal, or that a Christian public would not scorn it away. But it is worth while to vindicate those learned men to whom generations of Britons have owed so much, and still more important to protect Divine Revelation from the reproach of sanctioning slavery, or of enshrining in a table of ethics for all ages, side by side with relations founded in nature—parent and child, husband and wife—a transient form, the abuse of another relation, not a moral one, which Christianity from the beginning has by its spirit proscribed. Entirely differing from this critic, we have often thought it one of the best proofs of the learning and logic of those honoured men of the seventeenth century that, though living in a time when civil liberty was less understood than now, they have uniformly rendered the Greek word, and for the most part the corresponding Hebrew one, which denote both "slave" and "servant," by the latter word only. We say uniformly, for this is their translation of δούλος,—the word "slave" not being admitted once. Rev. xviii. 13, as every reader of the New Testament knows, is only an apparent exception,—what is rendered there "slaves" is literally "bodies," σώματα.

This uniform avoidance of "slaves" shows that our translators were scholars qualified to deal with ideas, not words only. With comprehensive logical views, they judged that in a table of relative duties for universal use the interpretation was to be preferred, if philology permitted it, which adapted a rule to all ages, under all varying conditions of social life. And philology did permit what logic required. Our brother reckons it enough to say δούλος means slave; of course it does, but not always. Has he not seen his countryman Barnes' arguments, so conclusive on the side of the larger signification? The noun and its kindred verb have undeniably a more general sense. Both by classic use and sacred, they are applied to the service of freemen, and men of exalted rank. Xenophon applies δούλος to satraps or governors of provinces. In Scripture, it is used to characterise angels, prophets, apostles, saints, all. The corresponding Hebrew word is applied to men remote from the position of slaves. To Naaman, "the great man and honourable" with the Syrian king; long before, to Abraham's steward; to Balak's princes (Num. xxii. 18); later, to Daniel and his associates in an Eastern court. We remember how our own Wellington so often called himself "Her Majesty's servant." What a strange consequence of the rendering we are repudiating—to denominate any of these slaves or bondmen of Christ. Strange that Conybeare, Alford, and the Bishop of Durham should apply this title to Paul. We believe he would have declined so base a title, though glorying in being Christ's prisoner. He (Paul) had better comfort for the Roman or Greek bondman, being a Christian convert, than what the good bishop just mentioned gives him, when he makes Paul say to him (Col. iv.), "Christ is your Master, and you are His slave." Paul, on the contrary, says—"Ye have not received the spirit of bondage" (Rom. viii.) With a false humility, a vain sentimentalism, some (taught by such interpreters) take the designation. It is silly vanity, we think, and deserving of laughter, were it not that the travesty of God's Word, which we charge on such voluntary humility, is serious and pernicious error!

How much stronger is our case when it is remembered how rare a thing slavery

proper must have been in Jewish families, such as composed many congregations of the primitive Church. It was not permitted to Jews to hold a fellow Hebrew in bondage. In the exceptional case of one having, through straitness of circumstances, parted with his personal liberty, or through crime forfeited it, the term of bondage was carefully limited, reaching to the seventh year, or at furthest to the Jubilee. "As an hired servant, he shall be with thee," said the Divine law (Lev. xxv.) Even Solomon, it is interesting to notice, is said to have conformed rigidly to this law in his household order and state (1 Kings ix. 22). After mention of the tribute of bond service which he levied on the heathen, it is said, "But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen." Of course, in Greek and Roman families the system prevailed; but since there were the Liberti there, was their service not to be included? If "slaves" were addressed alone, where was *their* rule?

The one who, among those who translate by the word "slave," has most distinctly attempted an answer to this question is Dr. McKnight, though it seems to us an answer unworthy of such a critic. Himself translating by "slave," he justifies our English translators "in preferring the word 'servant' because," though the Greeks and Romans had scarce any servants, but slaves, the duties of the hired servant, during the time of his service, are the same with those of the slave, so that what was said to slaves by the apostle was in effect said to the hired servant. This seems a very unsatisfactory solution. We submit it to exegetical scholars whether the position is not the more logical: that what was addressed to servants generally in this permanent ethical code, included, only so far as the Divine law or providence in the meantime permitted the violent and unnatural relationship, a rule for the forced domestic as well as the voluntary. It seems more reasonable that the violent relationship, only tolerated, should be merged (under the one comprehensive term) in the one more accordant with the law of nature, than that the legitimate duties of free servants or stewards should be merged in the obligations of forced and degraded service, and only left to be inferred from thence.

We have distinguished what was tolerated by the Divine law, or what was recognised as existing, and what that law ordained and established. There is a principle of interpretation applicable to the New Testament ethics, which is necessary to an intelligent appreciation of the duties enjoined under, whether the head of filial, conjugal, or servile subordination. Christianity, which recognises the precious law of nature, and appeals to what is "right in the Lord," must evidently suppose a limit, or that what is sinful is excepted; but why not, besides the condition that the thing required be lawful, understand the sacred writer as supposing that the relationship itself is regularly formed, of which the correlative duties of authority and obedience are ruled for?

Let us illustrate: the commands to wives and children, as well as servants, would from the first be read by the wives of polygamists as well as by others in the conjugal relation; would be read also alike by illegitimate children and legitimate;—just as by slaves, in common with free servants. But, alike in all, we deny that there is any scriptural sanction implied of the relationship itself where illegitimately contracted. No one surely will argue that the term "wives," when read in the harem of the Oriental polygamist, was to be interpreted as any further addressed to such parties, or as any further recognising their duty of subjection to their (reputed) husbands, than as, or so long as, either by mutual consent, or by a power which the weaker party could not resist, they stood practically related in the conjugal tie. It is so also with the case of the bastard child; and so with the case of the servant in a forced position, and absolutely in the power of a superior's will. The law enjoining subjection to masters no doubt would rule the duty of the slave while providentially in such position, as it rules the duty of the subjects of a Nero or a Caligula, without the law approving either the civil or the domestic despotism.

We must not avoid to notice a chief argument—the only one, indeed, of any

force—which the advocates of what we reckon the unhappy translation appeal to. It is the contrast in which the word stands with *δουλος* in 1 Cor. vii. 22. If anywhere, I could admit the word bondman there; yet our translators still give “servant” as the corresponding word, and I contend they were justifiable, though one could suppose the sacred writer looking more there at the case of the literal bondman. I say literal; for even in a free country, the words in this passage standing antithetical to one another could still fitly describe the person, on the one hand, who is his own master, as we say, and, on the other, the party held to service by contract: keeping in view the apostle’s main object in that place—to reconcile men to their various conditions in life; also to remind us that all engagements or limitations of personal freedom are to be qualified by the prior obligations to Christ; and that the present social inequalities bulk little in comparison with the great common privileges and hopes of Christians.

These last considerations are, of course, no justification of a system dooming men, as if *things*, chattels, not persons (for such was the law of slavery ancient and modern), to absolute subjection to the will, however despotic or wicked, of a fallible fellow-creature. We justify our translators, then, even with 1 Cor. vii. 22 before our eyes. All slaves are servants—though all servants were not slaves. It is what is common to them in the necessary duties of domestic life that is alone ruled for.

It is another argument on the side of our authorised version that the apostles suppose the obedience to be rendered with “good will, or heartily,”—a thing hardly possible, as classic writers acknowledge (Homer, Cicero, &c.), and as the slavery laws, whether of Greece or Rome, or of modern England and America, have seemed to confess, by the unrighteous precautions held necessary to keep the poor subjected parties in ignorance, and as Livy tells us of the Romans, making them unwilling to trust their slaves with arms, even in the nation’s defence. An ancient juris-consult says, “Ab omni militia servi prohibentur,”—Slaves are interdicted all military service.

M. WILLIS.

REORDINATION OF ROMISH PRIESTS.

SIR,—I have just read the brief article in the April number of your journal, on the above subject.

I am sorry that there should be any need for the discussion of such a question: and I suppose there would not have been occasion for it, but for the declaration of the American Assembly in 1845.

Your correspondent “would be glad if his statement would elicit a discussion of the question through your pages.” I do not, however, desire to enter on the discussion of the question generally, but rather to contribute some information for those who may think a discussion of the subject necessary, at the present time. And in giving this information I have merely to state the fact of the reception of a Roman Catholic priest, into a section of the Presbyterian Church, without reordination; and assign the reasons for receiving him.

In the year 1836, I was ordained by the Presbytery of Dublin, in the town of Galway, usually called “Catholic Galway.” On the day of my ordination, a member of my congregation, himself a convert from Roman Catholicism, said to a priest, “We are going to have an ordination of our minister to-day.” The priest replied by asking the question, “Who ordained themselves?” evidently showing that he had not much respect for Presbyterian Orders.

In the early part of 1839, I visited the town of Birr, to get some information about a Roman Catholic curate who had disputed with his rector, and seceded; being followed by a small body of the people. Spending the greater part of a week in the town, I became well acquainted with both priest and congregation. He had become quite evangelical, was preaching the Gospel faithfully, and instructing the young in Bible doctrine, on the principles of the Shorter Catechism.

Some time afterwards, he wrote me expressing his own desire, and the desire of his people to be received into communion with the Presbyterian Church. The

matter was brought before the Presbytery of Dublin, and, after due delay for consideration, on the 30th of May, 1839, the Presbytery met in Birr, and the congregation was received as a congregation under the care of the Presbytery, and the Rev. William Crotty, the ex-priest, was inducted into the pastorate.

The Supreme Court of the Church met shortly afterwards, and unanimously and cordially welcomed Mr. Crotty; and he took his seat among them, and continued a much respected minister till the close of his life.

Such is the fact, and now for the reasons.

Mr. Crotty himself held that his baptism was valid, and that his ordination was also valid; though he had received both through a Church that had much that was antichristian in it. The Irish Presbyterian Church fully agreed with him. They held that if his ordination was not valid, his baptism was not valid, as both were received from the same Church. And, on the other hand, they held that if his baptism was valid, so also was his ordination.

The Church considered that the discussion of the question of reordination was 300 years too late. They knew that if they asked the question, "Who ordained themselves?" as the priest did, and if they would run that question back to its issue, they would come at last to Roman Catholic ordination. The chain can be no stronger than the weakest link, and one link certainly goes back to Rome. We know it goes further than Rome. It goes through Antioch to Jerusalem. But that is not the present question. Let Young America ask, "Who ordained themselves?" and the answer to that question will help to clear away all doubt on the subject of reordination.

I don't think Luther, Calvin, Knox, and their fellows troubled themselves much about reordination; they received a commission through Rome, and they preached according to the light they had, and as more light came in they preached accordingly, and at last they found themselves in the full light of the Gospel, and away from Rome altogether. Did they then look around, and ask who will reordain us? No, they never halted at the question. They scarcely thought of it. They had received a commission to preach the Gospel, they had also received ordination to the work of the ministry, and they went forth with that commission, and that ordination, and founded the Lutheran and Reformed Church.

It may, however, be said that priests before and at the time of the Reformation were reared in darkness, and had some excuse for taking orders in the Church of Rome; but now that priests are reared with the light shining all around them, they should know better, and not take orders in Rome. Those who speak or write thus know little of the darkness of the atmosphere surrounding the youth designed for the Romish priesthood. They are not reared in the light of the Gospel. They have not free access to the Word of God. Their religious teaching is all of a *one-sided* controversial character; and, believing as they do, that Rome is infallible, their condition is scarcely improved by the light whose glimmer they may see around them.

Those who have lived most among them, and who know most about them, will be most ready to say that their condition is not much better, and their difficulties scarcely less, than in the days of the Reformation. I believe that, all things considered, the difficulties are as great as they ever were, and that no argument for reordination can be founded on the supposition that the privileges of the Roman Catholic students for the priesthood are greater, and their difficulties less than they were in Reformation days.

JOSEPH FISHER.

37 WEST SQUARE, LONDON, S.

MEMORIAL-TRIBUTES.

MRS. RANYARD.

The excellent lady who originated the work of Bible-women, and whose admirable writings on the "The Book and its Mission," and kindred topics, have given so great an impulse to Christian work among the poor, has recently passed to her reward. "It was my privilege," says her minister, Rev. Dr. Oswald Dykes, "to see her often on her death-bed; she died as she had lived, quiet, womanly, practical, considerate of others—with a placid trust in her Lord, and a great longing after the work He had given to her hand." In a recent statement in her own journal, "The Missing Link Magazine," on the beginning of her life-work, she tells how, in her girlhood, she was led to accompany a young lady friend in a visit to a poor district in London, to ascertain how many of the people had Bibles. For the first time she was in the houses of the poor, and for the first time she heard the Gospel brought to bear on the sick and sorrowing. The message designed for them took effect on her. Both her friend and she were attacked by illness after that day of visiting; she recovered, while her friend died. She resolved to give her life to Christian labour among the poor; and she did. The Bible was indeed to her a book of Divine authority and power. Her missions were all Bible missions, her labourers Bible-women. "To carry the Bible in letter and spirit, its words read and explained, its pages printed in big type, its lessons and hopes, into the hearts, the chambers, and the work-day life of 'Low London,' she proclaimed that the missing link was woman, fulfilling her mission to her sisters yet unreclaimed. Not only did she write of the Missing Link, and with untiring energy conduct 'The Missing Link Magazine,' but beginning, we know not how—in that silent way, however, in which works that are to grow take their origin—she trained Bible-women, planted them here and there, solicited and obtained the co-operation of ladies to superintend them, gave and got means of support, till there had grown up under her hand a vast and energetic agency, spread over London, and beginning to branch away under distant countries, even into Syria and Madagascar, into India, Italy, and France."

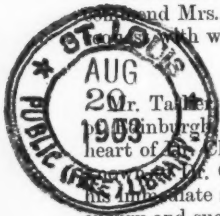
We have to acknowledge a letter from the Earl of Shaftesbury, asking us to record Mrs. Ranyard's work to the generous support of Christian friends—a work with which we comply with the utmost cordiality.

REV. WILLIAM TASKER.

Mr. Tasker was the first minister of the Territorial Church in the West Port of Edinburgh, the promotion of which occupied so much of the attention and heart of Mr. Chalmers during the last three or four years of his life. Becoming a student in his class, Mr. Tasker first laboured under his immediate superintendence, and, on his death, continued the work with great energy and success. Mr. Tasker had a cordial manner, and a flow of popular eloquence, which, in connection with much spiritual earnestness, well fitted him for influencing the lapsed and careless families in that lamentably degraded district, from among whom he succeeded so well in gathering and building up his congregation.

PRINCIPAL HARPER, D.D.

One of the oldest and most highly esteemed of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland has passed away. For considerably more than half-a-century Dr. Harper laboured in the ministry, and for upwards of thirty years he performed the duties of a Professor of Divinity, attaining at last the honourable position of Principal of the Theological Institution. We are not aware of his having enriched literature by any considerable contribution; but no man could have stood higher for a well-balanced and well-informed mind, kindliness and generosity of nature, consistency of Christian character, and all that is fitted to gain the esteem and affection of friends.



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